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NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
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"DUCIT AMOR PATRIÆ"

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NO. 20

Reminiscences of the Fenian Raid 1866

By Charles Hunter.

Reminiscences of Niagara and St. Davids

By Mrs. J. G. Currie

Canadian Confederation in the Making with some Glimpses at the Confederators

By Rev. A. F. MacGregor, B. A.

Translation of Part of the Journal of Thomas de Boucherville

PRICE - 20 Cents

"THE TIMES" PRINT, NIAGARA, 1911

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NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Its objects are the encouragement of the study of Canadian History and Literature, the collection and preservation of Canadian Historical Relics, the building up of Canadian Loyalty and patriotism and the preservation of all historical landmarks in this vicinity.

The annual fee is fifty cents.

The Society was formed in December, 1895. The annual meeting is held on Oct. 13th. Since May 1896, over five thousand articles have been gathered in the Historical Room—twenty pamphlets have been published, eight historical sites have been marked, and an historical building erected at a cost of over $5000.

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The Regular Meetings are on the second Monday of each month from October to May, except that the Annual Meeting is on the 13th of October.

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PREFACE

IN presenting our twentieth pamphlet to our members and the public generally we wish to thank the writers who have enabled us to give glimpses of Canadian life extending over a full century. We are pleased to give the picture of the Monument on Queenston Heights and of Mrs. Currie chiefly by whose earnest solicitation the grant of $2,000 was given. The inscription on the Monument reads thus: "This Monument has been erected by the Government of Canada to Laura Ingersoll Secord, who saved her husband's life on these Heights, 13 Oct., 1812, and who risked her own in conveying to Col. Fitzgibbon information by which he won the victory of Beaver Dams July 24th, 1813"

REMINISCENCES

OF THE

"FENIAN RAID"

BY CHARLES HUNTER.

PART I.

Through the years of 1864 and 1865 and early months of 1866 Canadian Towns bordering upon the United States were in great alarm and constant anxiety through rumours of invasion by the Fenian Brotherhood, to whom flocked numberless hardy veterans of the Civil War fresh from battle fields of the South, eager to fight, no matter where or when, while Canadian newspapers were full of disquieting rumours as to vast accumulations of military stores and of threatened invasion.

On December 20th, 1864, thirty companies of Canadian Volunteers were called out by the Militia Department for Frontier Service in three Battalions of ten companies each, Headquarters to be respectively at Windsor, Niagara and La Prairie, the companies to be sixty-five strong exclusive of officers.

The Barrie Rifles, officered by Captain McKenzie, Lieutenant O'Brien, and Ensign Ormsby were fortunate, and received orders to proceed with the Collingwood Rifles on the 28th December to Niagara, and report to the Officer Commanding. And now a word as to the Barrie Rifles, and to go back a little.

In 1855 the Canadian Militia in the Province of Ontario consisted of a few scattered and independent Rifle companies, of these "The Barrie Rifles" was the first gazetted on 27th December, 1855, W. S. Durie, Captain The first and third Rifle Companies of Toronto, were next gazetted on 20th March, 1856. In 1860 at Toronto a Battalion was formed consisting of six companies, called the second Battalion Volunteer Rifles of Canada, to which the Barrie and Whitby companies were invited to belong, Toronto being able to furnish only four companies, the Barrie company being No. 1, and their Captain W. S Durie, becoming Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment. In 1863 the second Battalion of Volunteer Rifles, became the now famous "Queen's Own Rifles," composed entirely of

City companies, while the Barrie, and Whitby companies, again became independent.

Early in 1864 I left the Barrie Grammar School and became a law student in the firm of Messrs. Ardagh & Ardagh, Barristers, etc., in Barrie, while in the firm of Messrs. Boulton & McCarthy, a few doors away were two close chums and schoolmates, Willie Irwin, son of the Head Master of the Barrie Grammar School, and Walter Keating, son of an Irish gentleman settled in Barrie. As at this time the newspapers were printing most disturbing rumours as to all possible and impossible Fenian doings, which stirred the townspeople greatly, while creating a distinctly warlike spirit, it is not surprising that the tone of our frequent meetings was of a like character. This soon brought about a visit to a popular Barrister, Lieutenant William O'Brien of the Barrie Rifles, (now Colonel O'Brien of Shanty Bay), expressing our desire to join, and who, though at first refusing to entertain the proposition, at last consented if our families agreed, which they finally did, greatly to his surprise, and only upon his promise to look after us closely. So soon as the fact that we had joined the company became known, the Rector's nephew, James Anderson, another close friend insisted on going also, greatly to the distress of the Rector and other relatives, as he was inclined to be delicate, he also had his way. This was too much for another schoolmate, Harry Ardagh, of Orillia, who also joined, while other boys were urging their parents for permission to do so. At this time Lieutenant O'Brien called a halt, and would have no more of our friends, saying he already had too many of us. I may say that the eldest of our party was not yet 18 years of age.

Christmas Day fell on a Sunday in 1864, and I shall never forget the gloom that overshadowed the Christmas festivities in Barrie homes, or the Rector's sermon, with the deadly stillness, the broken voices and stiffled sobs of those we loved. We were only lads, and in our excitement at being selected had not counted the cost, but now we learned "that war has its darker side." The last days in Barrie fairly dragged along, notwithstanding frequent strenuous drills and watching crowds, as Captain McKenzie was very proud of the Barrie Rifles, and a glutton for work.

We were to leave early in the morning of the 28th December, and with what loving care were our knapsacks packed for us, with little luxuries slipped in, that we would not see, but later had to be removed before inspection was made for just such articles. Irwin and myself living out of Town, said our last good-bye, and who can tell the sadness of those partings, then drove in together to the Armoury, and marched to the station. The hour was early, but the

whole town and surrounding country seemed there. The Company "fell out," and mingled with their waiting friends, each dark coated Rifleman, the centre of sad and troubled groups, to whom in the peaceful quiet of their daily life, war had no thought or place, and its sudden call for their sons left them broken hearted facing unknown sorrows. The train whistled in the distance, the bugle sounded hurried farewell greetings, there was little cheering as the train pulled out, it was like the passing of a funeral, as friends and relatives alike were sure we should not return alive; and though we could not see it then the partings had also an amusing side, as this fear caused the farewells to be of an unusually friendly nature, and upon the company's return later, with no casualties, there were people who had indistinct recollections of the event.

With what saddened hearts and lowered spirits we entered the train, but few hours had passed before youth had sway, and the glamour of war again possessed us, while laughter and jest prevailed, though the set and still saddened faces of those who left wives and children behind, were seen bravely covering their grief.

We went through to St. Catharines by rail, where we were billeted for the night about the town, though I have no recollection of where we put up—And the next morning in heavy marching order we walked the twelve miles to Niagara. The country is low and level, while the weather was cold and raw, with a wintry wind that fairly ate its way through overcoats, while the "Gravel Road"—save the mark—never in those days good, was at this time in a bad state, frozen mud cut into deep ragged ruts that made terrible walking, altogether the march was an experience that will never be forgotten by those who participated, no later experience, and I have had many strenuous ones, quite equalled this, and it must be remembered the men were mostly new recruits and unaccustomed to such a strain. Captain McKenzie was a splendid soldier, as he afterwards proved himself in the "North West," he never spared himself or his men, but in this instance he was surely ill-advised as to conditions of the road at that time. However there was little grumbling, though much suppressed bad language when an occasional heavy fall tried the temper of a man beyond endurance. It was afterwards said, that what the Barrie Rifles thought of that tramp could not be fittingly expressed by appropriate English language, though it is admitted that many did their utmost to explain to their friends, but not for publication.

Upon entering the suburbs of Niagara I was at once among familiar scenes. The spire of St. Andrew's Church, an old friend was the first in view. Then the Niagara Grammar School, where

under Reverend T. D. Phillips, some ten years before, an elder brother and myself spent two happy years. I saw little change in the building or surroundings at that time. We marched through the Town to Butler's Barracks, arriving at 1.30 p m. December 29th, when Captain McKenzie reported to Colonel Durie, commanding the 2nd or Central Administrative Battalion, in which the Barrie Rifles were placed as No. 6 company. As Butler's Barracks were not then ready for our accommodation, we were for a few days billeted in hotels and private houses through the town, in all cases received a most cordial reception, were treated like heroes, and lived on the fat of the land.

The day after our arrival, eight companies of the Battalion assembled for inspection by Lieutenant Colonel Durie as follows:

Two companies of the Queen's Own Rifles.
One company of the Kingston "
One company of the Simcoe "
One company of the Collingwood "
One company of the Barrie "
One company of the Whitby "
One company of the Scarboro "
One company of the Lacolle "
One company of the Hemmingford "
The two last companies being stationed at Niagara Falls.

For many succeeding days it was a continual grind of drill, but the men were of good material, and Colonel Durie was soon well pleased with the Battalion. On the 9th of January we were marched to Butler's barracks; the various buildings by this time being repaired and cleaned. The Barrie Rifles were allotted to roomy single story buildings immediately in rear of the present "Officers Quarters," and were given "orders" upon the "Quarter Master" for supplies and stores. And what a rough and tumble affair it was. At least four companies engaged in the struggle for household effects and supplies of every description, it was impossible to preserve order, the strong despoiled the weak—there were a few "mix ups"—with some bad language. Members of the companies fortunate enough to be already in Barracks stood about enjoying the fun, and greatly adding to the noise. It was amusing to the onlooker to see one man staggering under a load of furniture, another with an armful of straw for his canvas mattress and pillow, a third with supplies for the cook's department, jostling and crowding each other in their eagerness to safely house their belongings. The men were as a rule even tempered and took their troubles in good part, though, with the

despoilers and their victims it remained a never ending matter of violent controversy.

Our barrack room accommodated 20 men, 10 each side with large open space between for tables, stove, etc., with two windows at ends; each man had a small cot, with three feet of space upon each side. Through the kindness of Lieutenant O'Brien our party of five were together in one end, while in the next cot was the Sergeant in charge, a tall, hard headed Presbyterian, with a hasty temper and great strength, who, notwithstanding all opposition ran that small contingent upon Sunday School lines to the last. At half past six in the morning the bugles would bring us to the floor, and with no delay allowed,—ablutions in ice cold water after windows had been open all night for ventilation, was a new experience, "no hot water heaters in those days" Floors had to be swept and beds made before breakfast, for which we always had a keen appetite. Our great objection was to Sentry duty, and in after years we agreed that "Sentry go" about "Butler's barracks" or "Fort Mississauga" on stormy winter nights in zero weather was our most trying experience, and an invention of Satan to provoke bad language. The pay of privates at Niagara camp was 50c per day, with rations, the rations did not impress us greatly, for though the food was good, it was plain, very plain, with little variety, but still we grew fat upon it. The 50c per diem, however, seemed a good deal to us, as we had not previously any great surplus in our pockets.

Before leaving Barrie, through the kind thoughtfulness of Mr. Darcy Boulton, Barrister, we were given letters to his numerous friends in Niagara, and who showed us much kindness. Foremost among these were the Judge and Mrs. Lawder, whose house was always open and as it was only a short distance from the barracks we were frequent guests. But this was not all, a few days after our arrival, Alma and Harvey Lawder, with their small sister appeared at the barracks drawing a hand sleigh loaded with delicacies sent by Mrs. Lawder, and which during our stay in those quarters became a regular and much looked for visit, not only by ourselves, but by our mess-mates, who participated in this welcome addition to our food. During January it was not all work, and the men found plenty of time to enjoy themselves; by those who possessed, or could borrow skates, "the Slip" was much frequented, and in mild weather snowballing between companies was the great frolic, and a source of much amusement to the men, I remember seeing Brigr. Genl. Otter, at that time a subaltern in the "Queens Own," looking on with other officers at an unusually strenuous engagement and enjoying the fun.

Towards the close of January the Barrie Rifles were ordered to

vacate Butler's barracks, and to occupy Fort Mississauga, greatly to our dismay, as we were well settled and could see no reason for the change, we also knew that "Mississauga" was a very exposed position for winter habitation, however, there was no help for it, so we unwillingly packed our belongings, were marched to the Fort and allotted quarters in the barracks under the embankment, where we soon made ourselves more comfortable than we had hoped for. During this period the whole of Canada was disturbed by numberless disquieting reports as to Fenian movements, which kept the entire Country, as well as our troops on Frontier duty, in a state of nervous tension, and it was supposed that the occupation of Fort Mississauga was connected with these rumours. Fort Mississauga was at this time in good defensive condition, the Palisades that surrounded the Fort including the outside kitchens, were intact, as was also the high breakwater guarding the water front. The old double gate was solid and strong, while the Fort, built in 1814, showed no sign of decay, and easily accommodated some 20 of our men in its two vault like rooms, which with blazing logs in the fireplaces made an attractive resort on cold evenings. The roof was at that time open, cannon mounted in each corner, with shot ready for use, the walls running up five feet on all sides for protection of the gunners. These walls are very wide, and during sunny days in spring were the great lounging place for the men, but only when officers were away as it was strictly forbidden.

Our barrack rooms were not so large as at "Butlers," but stronger, being made bomb-proof, by layers of square cedar logs. As expected these barracks proved very cold at night, winds from the north and east swept over the bastion heavy with spray, and so raw and penetrating as to make us shudder under our blankets and overcoats, while before spring opened the roofs were a mass of solid ice and snow level with the earthworks. The constant gabble of the "Coweens," which at that time flocked in countless thousands to the Niagara river during winter months, was also a sleep disturber.

During our residence in the Fort the outside brick kitchens, showing signs of decay were not used, as a smaller kitchen inside the defenses, said to have been for officer's use in former days, served our purpose well, and saved the cooks much trouble. The food supplied was also good here, but as the cooks were usually applicants for the position by soldiers, who desired an easy life, the result of their work was discouraging, and as a rule our meals were quite unworthy of the healthy appetites with which we attacked them. Here again we were aided by the kindness of Mrs. Lawder, as almost before we were settled in our new quarters, the young Lawders

turned up with the usual hand sleigh and supplies, which was continued at intervals during our stay. Referring to this, Walter Keating, now Master of Titles at Fort Francis, in a recent letter writes, "The one thing I especially remember about Niagara was the great kindness shown us by Judge Lawder and his family."

Mr. and Mrs John L. Alma also showed us great kindness, one evening four of us dined with them, afterwards while playing cards with some young ladies a party of officers dropped in, greatly to our embarrasment, as officers and privates cannot meet on the same plane, so we proposed to leave, but our hosts would not hear of it, and Mrs. Alma took us into another room, and the officers looked enviously on while we spent a most enjoyable evening.

I regret to say that in the move to Fort Mississauga our party lost "Keating," he wrote an unusually fine hand, which with other qualifications, obtained his promotion as Lance Corporal, and a position as clerk in the Quarter-Master's Department. I also obtained my first stripe about the same time, but for what reason neither my friends nor myself could state, but of which I was proud.

It was now occasionally my duty to take a squad of our sick to the Hospital, which then stood in the centre of Fort George Common, exactly where the 16th hole of the N. G. C. now holds possession. The Chief Medical Officer was a local practitioner of great shrewdness and ability, and up to all "tricks of the trade," and as he also provided medicine, was especially keen to see it was not dispensed without good reason. It was rare fun to see him pick out the schemers, who feigning sickness to shirk their duties were quickly turned down with a sharp reprimand, to those with trifling ailments he made caustic comment, while instructing the "Orderly Sergeant" to see they had light diet for a few days. To those with sore throats, colds, etc., a hot bran poultice, with the light diet, was his certain remedy, and it was marvellous how quickly such men recovered and appeared at parade while privately abusing the Doctor to their friends. In cases of real sickness there was no one more careful and attentive, and the Hospital was well managed.

On the South East corner of the fort a lightning rod ran up the wall, held in place by bands of iron, and one day in an idle moment I suggested the top of the wall could be reached by it, but the idea was laughed at. My coat was off at once and the climb commenced, when fairly started the men called me back, but though doubtful about the rod I still kept on, when within a short distance of the top Lieutenant O'Brien's voice shocked me by shouting "come down there"; the return was no easy matter, though

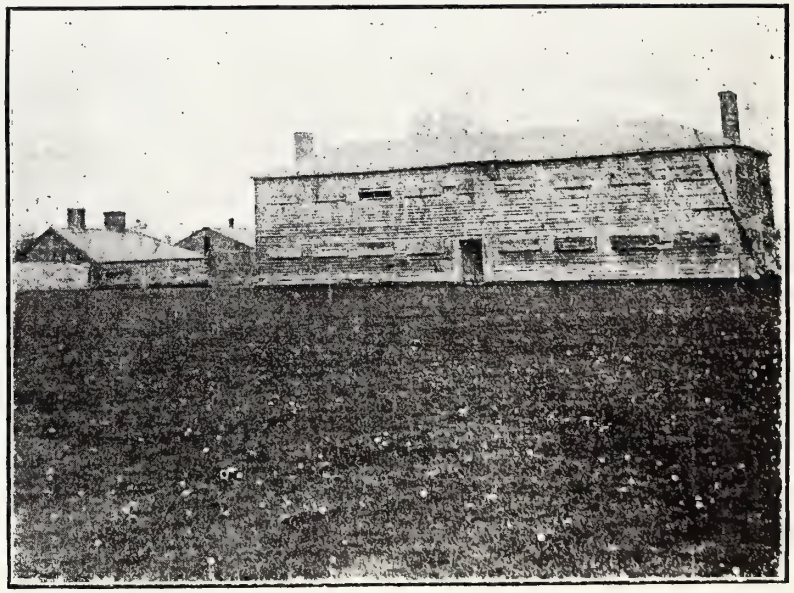
it was managed. The rating received was a thing to be remembered, but afterwards I realized it was better than a broken neck, which would probably have resulted.

"At this time of writing Fort Mississaugua and its surroundings are fast falling to ruins, and it is unfortunate that the Dominion Government is so little interested in the preservation of this fort, one of Canada's most historic possessions; this indifference being in direct contrast to the careful attention given by the American Government to the preservation of their Fort Niagara, a few hundred yards away."

Towards the end of February orders were issued by the Militia Department disbanding the Frontier Battalions, greatly to our delight, and on the 1st March after bidding farewell to our friends the Battalion boarded the train to our various destinations. Our company arrived late at night and received a great reception, then hastily slipped away to our homes.

I may say this call to arms at Niagara has been relevant to some particular happenings to myself, as I then formed relations that at a later period bound me to Niagara with unbreakable ties.

LT. COL. WM. O'BRIEN, SIMCOE FORESTERS



PART OF BUTLER'S BARRACKS

REMINISCENCES
OF THE
"FENIAN RAID"

PART II.

"DUNNVILLE"

Shortly after our return from Frontier duty at Niagara in the spring of 1865, Irwin, Keating and myself were again hard at work in the offices of our respective Law firms who gave us cordial welcome, and appeared pleased to have us back. For some days we could do little but relate our experiences to a numerous circle of friends, but as this seriously interfered with the office routine it was promptly stopped, and we then settled down to our duties in earnest.

It may easily be understood how greatly we enjoyed and appreciated returning to the comforts and luxuries of home life after some months in barracks with strenuous work. We had, however, acquired the military fever and were constant in attendance at all drills and parades, which Captain MacKenzie continued with unfailing regularity, and apparently with good reason, for so soon as our Battalions were recalled from the Frontier, sinister rumours of Fenian movements were again abroad disturbing the country.

With a judicious mixture of hard work and amusement, the summer of 1865 and the winter months of 1866 passed rapidly away, when without previous warning, on the 8th March, 1866, the Barrie Rifles were ordered to proceed at once to Dunnville for protection of the border. While we had perhaps anticipated such a call, it was disturbing, and the response was not so ready, the allurements of barrack life had been roughly dispelled, and a further term of perhaps months of monotonous life in an inland town did not appeal to our volunteers, the more so, that there was little hope of actual warfare, while the necessity of again applying for leave of absence to employers was distasteful. However, there was little time for thought, it was a peremptory call, and in my case there was no choice, as I was now Colour Sergeant of the Company. Messrs. Ardagh & Ardagh were again most kind, and though short-handed, at once gave ready consent to my going. And I should mention here, that employers generally showed a most generous and patriotic

spirit in keeping open the positions of their employees until their return, and in numberless instances at a great personal sacrifice.

My comrades Irwin and Keating could not join us, as they had attended the Military School at La Prairie for three months during the previous summer, while Anderson was not in good health, and with Ardagh of Orillia had resigned from the Company, Their places were taken by other Barrie boys—Charles Locke, afterwards Doctor Locke of Hamilton, Frank Astley, afterwards Doctor Astley of Ottawa, and Claude Holt, now enjoyng in Vancouver well earned rest after a busy life

On the evening of the 8th of March a special train was wa ting, and the townspeople were in a body at the Station to see us off, but it was in no way the sad event as upon the call to Niagara. The cry of "Wolf" had been so frequent during the past year that the danger of a Fenian invasion was not taken so seriously, as a consequence a lighter spirit prevailed, and the train moved out amid hearty cheering.

Officers of the Barrie Rifles were at this time, Captain MacKenzie, Lieutenant O'Brien, and Ensign Graham, a recent appointment. The Collingwood Company under Captain Moberley joined us at Allendale. There were no sad faces this time, and I have only recollections of a rather riotous journey to Toronto. We remained over night in the City, and on the morning of the 9th were forwarded by rail to Dunnville with three other Companies under command of Colonel Dennis, the Collingwood Company being sent on to Port Colborne.

While in Toronto we learned that the occasion of this sudden call was the ominous gathering of Fenian Forces in Buffalo, and on the 9th of March Lord Monck wrote Mr. Cardwell "that he had definite information as to the intentions of Fenians to invade Canada, and that the hour had come to prepare for anything that might occur and that eight thousand Canadian volunteers were ready for immediate action, this was on the 12th increased to ten thousand called for active service.

After many delays our detachment arrived at Dunnville quite late at night. tired, and with a cold rain falling. Although the town authorities had received instructions to arrange accommodation for four companies of volunteers, they were unprepared, and for some hours we suffered great discomfort. Our party of four were sent with others for temporary shelter to a small tavern near the station until arrangements could be made for us. A number of the men were already billeted there, and in possession and comparative comfort; the rest of us were in a bad way, packed in a small room, wet

and cold, and with no food available. Presently Lieutenant O'Brien appeared and said he had explained our case to the Collector of Customs at Dunnville, Mr. W. S. Macrae, who had kindly offered to take us in until other arrangements could be made. Our satisfaction was very great, we had looked forward to a night of much discomfort in a crowded smokefilled room, and the relief at knowing we would be housed in comfort was extreme. Mr. Macrae hastened with us to his house, where Mrs. Macrae gave us a most kind welcome, and took us at once under her wing. We were given rooms and in a short time were sitting at a bountiful table, near a bright wood fire, and made so much of, that we surely thought we had touched "Aladdin's Lamp." The next morning after a good breakfast we prepared with regret to move to other quarters, when Mr. Macrae came in and announced he had interviewed Captain MacKenzie and arranged that we could remain with them for the present. I need scarcely say we were most grateful and endeavoured to give as little trouble as possible to show we appreciated such disinterested kindness. I should add that when suitable quarters were afterwards found us, the Macrae's would not hear of our leaving, and we were permitted to remain with them during our stay in Dunnville. None of us could ever forget or speak too highly, of the unusual kindness shown to us by all members of this family.

About this time the Militia Department supplied Colonel Dennis with 20 "Spencer repeating rifles," a recent improvement. Men were then selected from among the best shots to be armed with these rifles and to form a company of sharpshooters, among whom I was pleased to find myself enrolled. Our days were spent in con stant drills, varied by long marches into the country until the detachment was brought to a high state of efficiency.

Dunnville may scarcely be termed a lively town in winter, though, in summer delightful, and with many interesting features. One in particular I remember that was notable, an old graveyard—long disused—and unique in the way of cemeteries, situated upon the north bank of the Grand River at a point where a small stream adjacent to the graveyard finds its exit in the river, and which in the passing of years had encroached upon the cemetery grounds, carrying off sections of its land, and it is even said of its dead. Gruesome tales were told our men by "old timers" that in the spring freshets coffins of the buried dead, have from time to time been torn from their last resting places and hurried away by the turbulent waters. It bears rather heavily upon these old residents that after their "shades" had once crossed "the styx", their poor remains

should be compelled to cross the Grand River with no "Charon" to see them safely over.

The time passed heavily, and our stay at Dunnville was not enlivened by many stirring events· I can recall only one episode of sufficient importance to be mentioned, but that furnished us with conversational matter for some time after. One night towards the end of March between 11 and 12 o'clock when all good soldiers were asleep in their beds, the bugles rang out sharply the "Assembly Call," and soon the men were running to the "drill hall" from all parts of the town, and in more or less disorder. We were told that word had come in of a large party of Fenians having left Buffalo in barges to take possession of Port Maitland at the mouth of the Grand River, and our instructions were to hasten there at once with all speed and hold the harbour, as there were no defensive works at this point it was the most likely place of attack, and we felt we should now surely see fighting.

We were soon on the way in heavy marching order and with extra ammunition. It was four miles to Port Maitland by the shortest route which followed windings of the river, and at this season in a dreadful state, as our road passed through marshy peat lands, filled in at very bad places with rough corduroy, while the night was dark with a raw wind and occasional sleet, so the outlook was not promising for rapid travel, Dunnville men carrying lanterns acted as guides. There was no picking of steps, we ploughed through mud and mire, and splashed through water at what we considered racing speed, but upon arriving at Port Maitland were surprised to find we had taken two hours and a half to cover the four miles. We soon aroused the villagers sleeping in blissful ignorance of the invasion, all lights were ordered to be put out, and the companies posted in positions covering landing places; absolute silence was to be preserved, and for four miserable hours we stood, soaked and shivering awaiting the expected attack which never came. When day broke there were still no signs of the enemy, so we marched back to Dunnville sore and angry There were some who thought this alarm and fatiguing march was merely arranged by Colonel Dennis to try our metal, but it was not so, the attack had been planned by the Fenians, and only given up when their plans became known to the Canadian Government.

During our stay in Dunnville the anger and patriotism of Canadians was being stirred to fever heat by the constant strain of impending invasion, and the public sentiment was most ably voiced by Chief Justice Draper, who at Toronto, when opening the spring Assizes in April delivered a charge that created a profound sensa-

tion through Canada, the following was the final paragraph. "There can be but one reception for the invaders, a stern and pitiless opposition to repel the aggression, striking for Queen and country, for law and liberty, for wives and children, and may God defend the right" (See Journal of Education for Upper Canada 1866.)

Some weeks later the Militia Department stated in orders "that, owing to the apparent cessation of disturbances so prevalent during the recent winter, and the heavy expense incurred by maintaining such a force, the Frontier Battalions were discharged," And the soldiers were returned to their homes.

REMINISCENCES

OF THE

"FENIAN RAID"

1866

PART III.

No sooner were the Frontier Battalions removed from the border in the early spring of 1866, than the gathering of Fenians in large numbers was reported at Buffalo, also that they were well equipped and armed. This was soon followed by feverish rumors of Fenian activity in both Upper and Lower Canada.

The feeling of Americans at this time was not too friendly. A Buffalo Newspaper only voiced popular sentiment in saying, "we don't wish Canada any ill but a little healthy scaring won't do them any harm." "It is very pleasing in the face of such unfriendliness that we may truly say, Canada and the United States now understand each other better, while a very cordial feeling prevails between these countries, and which is unlikely again to be disturbed.

It was only on Thursday the 31st of May, that the Militia Department began to take seriously the alarming reports that came in as to immediate Fenian invasion of Canada, and that no dependence could be placed on the United States to prevent such an outrage.

On the afternoon of the 1st of June, the Barrie Rifles received orders from the Militia Department to proceed with all haste to the Niagara Frontier. Captain McKenzie was ready to leave at once as he had been hourly waiting instructions, unfortunately the call to arms was so general that resources of the railways were being taxed far beyond their capacity by the immediate demand for rapid transit of large bodies of men, so it was after midnight before a train could be given us.

It was soon abroad that the Company was again called to the front, and the townspeople flocked to the railway station crowding the platform and street, the long hours of waiting for the train seemed to our soldiers interminable while the strain upon the silent waiting people is kept at fever heat by the circulation of sensational Newspaper bulletins constantly arriving. At last the train comes in, farewells are said, and even the Soldiers' partings are not

free from emotion. We were joined at "Allandale" by the Collingwood Company, under Colonel Stephens, who took command of the detachment, and at Cookstown by the Cookstown Company, under Captain Ferguson, each Company being full strength of sixty-five men. Keating, Irwin, Astley, Holt, Thompson and Lock, were again with the Company, the principals of our Law firms giving a ready consent, and were at the train to see us off.

The journey to Toronto was in distinct contrast to previous ones, there being an entire absence of noise, or horseplay, the men were disturbed and anxious, realizing, that it was a moment portentous to Canada, perhaps the turning point in her history, as should the Fenians once gain a foothold on Canadian soil they were likely at once to receive overwhelming support.

We reached Toronto in early morning of the 2nd of June, and marched to the Drill Shed, where we were told breakfast awaited us. Unfortunately this interesting statement proved as unstable as other rumors, and was not based upon fact, as we only found long tables cleared of everything but scraps by a detachment just sent on by boat to Port Dalhousie. We were also soon on our way to that Port, and after further delay were carried by train to St. Catharines, where our famished men were anticipating a good meal. Railway travel was demoralized, and it was dusk when we reached St. Catharines. We were now desperately hungry, having had almost no food since leaving Barrie, and confidently expected to satisfy our craving appetites upon arrival, and again were disappointed, troops had centered at St. Catharines from early morning, and though the generous citizens had done their utmost to meet the occasion, the demand had proved too great for the supply, and when our contingent rushed for the tables there was ltttle found to satisfy three hundred and fifty men. and those were lucky who found a scrap of meat or a crust of bread.

Colonel Stephens' instructions were to join Colonel Lowry at St. Catharines. but through some change of plan he had gone through to Clifton. leaving orders for Colonel Stephens to follow at once with his Battalion. It was between ten and eleven o'clock at night when we reached Clifton, and joined Colonel Lowry's command, increasing his force by three hundred and fifty men.

At Clifton, all was turmoil and confusion, with the townspeople in a wild panic of fear raised to fever heat, as message after message came in by wire advising as to the defeat of Colonel Booker's command, the slaughter of his soldiers, and annihilation of the Queen's Own and that the Fenian Army was at Chippawa recently joined by large reinforcements from Buffalo, and on the way to capture the Suspension Bridge, while every rumor that nervous

and frightened imaginations could invent was spread broadcast. It was Canada's darkest hour, and there were many homes in mourning.

Colonel Lowry had already sent an engine down the line towards Chippawa to feel the way, and shortly after our arrival a hastily made up train of mixed cars was ready and the Collingwood, Barrie, and Cookstown Companies were ordered to occupy them, the other Companies were to follow so soon as cars could be pro vided. About midnight our train moved slowly towards the Falls, the conductor and engineer having instructions ro use great caution, the management fearing the tracks would be destroyed by Fenian sympathizers. After passing the Falls and about where the Loretto Convent now stands, our train stopped for some reason unknown, and it was fully an hour before we moved. Our next stop was at Chippawa, where the pilot engine passed us on it's return to Clifton to report the road was clear; we then went on to Black Creek, where we found Captain Traverse of the 60th Rifles with two hundred men, and Captain Hogge of the 16th Regiment with one hundred and forty men, who had just marched in from New Germany, where they had spent the night. Colonel Lowry upon the 2nd section of our train overtook us here with the other Companies of our Battalion, and four guns of the Royal Horse Artillery. The trains were then moved on to Frenchman's Creek near Lower Ferry, where Fenians had encamped; the troops detrained as the day was breaking. Scouts were at once sent forward and the detachment moved out towards the "Lower Ferry" at Fort Erie, by this time we were a total mixed force of one thousand men.

A tall Lieutenant of the 60th Rifles, with a squad of men, and Lieutenant O.Brien of the Barrie Rifles with some of our Sharpshooters, to which I was attached, formed the advanced guard. This long legged officer of the 60th, had evidently decided there should be no time lost upon the way for he started off at a terrific pace. A squad of his men were in front, and being close behind him with some of our men, his voice could be heard urging them on. Soon word was passed up to moderate the pace, but the order was unheeded and the speed again as before. Presently a mounted officer galloped up remonstrating, and for a little the pace slackened; but only a few minutes and we were again racing along, there was no further objection; the officers and men were of one mind. A decisive battle was either progressing, or close at hand and we must be there. In that early morning bone and muscle were racked, with one's whole body crying out for rest, as it will be remembered that our battalion had travelled constantly without sleep, and with little food for thirty-six hours, but the metal of the men was good, and we

encouraged each other along. During the march our road passed between Apple orchards just in bloom, and their beauty and fragrance must have refreshed and calmed many a mind unsettled and disquieted with the terrible disaster that had befallen our Volunteers, particulars of which we had recently learned.

The severe strain of the march was noticeable as the men staggered along the dusty road, and it speaks well for Canadian vitality and determination that only one man dropped from the ranks during this strenuous march, he was a volunteer officer and his feet gave out, but no envious glance was cast his way as he sat by the roadside with his boots beside him.

We were very glad to see the waters of the Niagara River shewing through the trees, and could see as we reached its brink, the deserted Fenian Camp a short distance below to which attention was drawn by dense columns of smoke that shot up from several large piles, accompanied by continuous explosions, which we learned later were the various supplies, muskets, accountrements, ammunition, etc. which the Fenians destroyed, before attempting to cross the river that morning. A day or two after, I visited their late Camp and from which I beat a hasty retreat, as the ground was covered with the dead bodies of numerous horses and cattle stolen from the townspeople, and farmers, and which the Fenians had wantonly destroyed before leaving, and that a fatigue party of our men were busy clearing away. It was indeed a worn out, dust covered, body of men that flung themselues on the grass by the river side as the order to "fall out" was given, while others made for the water to bathe their sore or bleeding feet. The river was beautiful in the early morning, and its cool breeze was grateful.

In a few minutes Lieutenant O'Brien hurried up and called for Volunteers from his Company, as he had been ordered to search the woods adjoining the Camp at Frenchman's Creek for a party of Fenians that our Scouts had reported were in that vicinity. The whole Company would have readily responded, but many had come in from the march with bare and torn feet, and he would only have sound men. This Officer soon returned disappointed to find the reported Fenians were stragglers from our own detachment coming in, and who had been mistaken for Fenians by a Scout.

While we were resting on the river bank, an incident occurred that left a deep impression upon those who witnessed it. We heard a band playing in the distance, "The Wearing of the Green." At first, it was supposed to be from the Buffalo side, but presently a tug was seen coming down the river towing a Barge crowded with men waving banners and small flags, and hooting at our soldiers ;

they passed directly in front of us, apparently in Canadian waters ; our soldiers looking on in silent wonder. Captain Crow's battery of four guns was just below us, suddenly we saw the Artillery men spring to the guns with the evident intention of destroying the Barge, and were it not that the Officers rushed in and with the backs of their swords drove them away, a grave international complication might have resulted. Presently the march was resumed to Fort Erie some two miles up the river, many of the men were noticed with articles in their possession acquired at the Fenian Camp, which had been visited in the meantime ; these were mostly Rifles, though other souvenirs were in evidence, but the Officers did not interfere. Residents along the River road were evidently glad and relieved to see our force come in ; many with their families stood in doorways and gates cheering as we passed.

Shortly after entering the village of Fort Erie, a gruesome incident gave us an insight to the horrors of warfare; two dead Fenian soldiers were being carried along the street on streichers, the sheet had fallen away from the face of one who had been shot through the forehead, a horrible sight---this was the most disquieting of our Military experiences, and its effect was marked.

Another pathetic happening, was the removal by Lieut. O'Brien and a fatigue party a few hours later of the Fenian wounded at Ridgeway from the temporary Hospital in Fort Erie to the Ferry for transfer to Buffalo ; a great crowd of townspeople and soldiers looked silently on ; many of those in Fort Erie at this time will recall these incidents.

Our Battalion was directed to the crest of a hill overlooking the town where camping ground was staked for us, and the Companies were marched to their various stations and the work of erecting tents was at once proceeded with, there was no rest for any one. After the tents were up, our next serious concern was the obtaining food, as by this time we were starving. A car load containing provisions, comforts, and luxuries, had been forwarded to our Company at Fort Erie immediately after we left, but had not yet arrived. Nothing was to be expected from the "Commissariat Department" which was utterly disorganized, so knew we must look out for ourselves ; some of our men were sent into the village, and to farms, to buy or beg provisions, however. the result was not satisfactory, nearly all returned empty handed, and those of us were fortunate who had a cold potato or a dry biscuit for lunch or supper, though such food was inadequate either to sustain, fortify, or console our craving appetites, and to add to our discomfort, heavy rain came with the night. In the search for food our men were surprised to

learn from those visited, that while the Fenians had practically cleaned the village of food, and appropriated all horses and cattle they could lay their hands upon, they yet treated the inhabitants with a consideration that was unlooked for.

When the Battalion paraded in the afternoon, I was annoyed to find myself slated for Orderly service at Headquarters that night, having anticipated a much needed rest. However, there was no help for it, so before 8 o'clock I found the "Headquarters." a small one and a half story frame building, when I arrived there was apparently no one in the place ; the hall and stairway were narrow ; being tired out and knowing I could not keep awake, I threw myself at the foot of the stairs with my head on the lower step thinking to be aroused by the first person that came in, the next thing I knew was the being awakened by a hand on my head, I looked up in amazement, and self reproach to find the small hall filled with Orderlies who had followed my example, and were still asleep. The Officer smiled noticing my surprise, motioned me to silence so as not to awake them, and said to report at once to the Commanding Officer. I followed him to a small room under the roof where Colonel Lowry sat at a table, he looked up and then gave me four notes to deliver three were for Artillery commands, the other for a Battalion of Volunteers. it was ten o'clock when I left Headquarters and as the various commands were scattered, with both mud and rain heavy midnight was close at hand when I delivered replies to Colonel Lowry, who himself looked tired and worn. He read the notes and looked up at the travel stained Orderly, "What Battalion do you belong to, and how old are you," were the questions, "altogether too young for such work as this, go to your quarters as soon as you can," was his kindly comment. I thanked him, saluted and passed out, grateful that with his load of anxiety, and responsibility, he yet found time to think of others.

Those sleeping Orderlies I left, were now out upon various errands, so fortune favored me in being first called. Upon arrival at the Camp, my comrades were sleeping soundly, and notwithstanding the ground under the straw was soaking, I threw myself beside them in thankfulness; no camp beds, or wooden floors in those days.

The work of the small army at Fort Erie, some three thousand five hundred men, was at this time strenuous ; my own duties were constant, to be up with the dawn at sounding of bugles, and to see to the changing of the guards. Visiting the outpost on dark or cloudy nights was not always a pleasant duty, but generally interesting, each sentry had something to report, and the imaginations of

many were fertile, but all would tell of random bullets from the American shore singing over their heads, and there is little doubt many of the Fenian soldiers in Buffalo amused themselves in this way.

About midnight on Sunday, June the 3rd, our sleeping troops were quietly aroused by orders from Headquarters for immediate parade. The varions Battalions hurriedly assembled, many of the men only half awake, some in undress, and all eager to know "what was doing." It was whispered about that a night atttack upon Fort Erie by the Fenian Army in Buffalo had been reported through the "United States Secret Service Department," and which it was feared they might not be able to prevent.

The prospect of a midnight battle is not apt to exhilarate the feelings of any man, but to be awakened from sound sleep upon a dark night with a conflict in sight is likely to unsettle the nerves of even old soldiers, so I freely admit it was in no happy frame of mind that I passed down the opened ranks of the Barrie Company between Captain McKenzie, and Lieutenant O'Brien dropping steel ramrods into the barrels of the old "Muzzle loader" for the Officers to be sure it was clear, while the light clink of the steel as it struck the Breech seemed to our strained nerves in the quiet of the night like a "Fire Alarm." In comparing notes afterwards, others told me that the strain of standing rigidly in the silence was far greater to them than to those of us in active motion.

Hour after hour passed away under great nervous tension, and in absolute silence ; later the men were allowed to "stand at ease," and as the day broke were dismissed, after learning that the anticipated crossing of the Fenians had been suppressed by the Americans of which advantage was taken to return to their owners, clothing, boots, etc. mistaken for their own in their hurried dressing. Captain Akers, R E. in command at Port Colborne, was also advised of the proposed landing of Fenians at some point along the Lake Shore between Fort Erie and Port Colborne, and likewise kept his force under arms all that night.

We could obtain no information as to our Car load of provisions from Barrie and about which we were anxious, as the Commissariat Department could not bring in supplies sufficient to meet the demand, Railways being still paralyzed, and the Officials at their wits' end, so our Officers took the matter up and after numerous telegrams it was learned that a car load of provisions forwarded to Port Colborne for the "Queen's Own," only arrived after that Regiment had left for Fort Erie ; in the meantime, our car of provisions reached Fort Erie, and when the "Queen's Own" came in hungry they unfortunately mistook the Barrie car for their own, making short work of its contents, and before we learned of their mistake their own car arrived and was disposed of. However, the "Queen's Own" had done good work and no complaint was made, but belts in the Barrie Company were drawn a hole closer.

At this time the President of the United States issued a Proclamation, just a week too late to be of service, instructing all American Officers to prevent further attack upon Canada.

On the evening of June the 4th, Colonel Lowry reported to the "Minister of Militia" that all appeared quiet on the Frontier.

This inglorious war with a rabble mob, in which we had all to lose and nothing to gain had proved a critical moment in the history of Canada, as had the Fenians made good their splendid dreams for the conquest of Canada, or even held their ground for a few days, they would surely have received strong support from American sympathizers.

The Simcoe Battalion was held at Fort Erie for two weeks later until all danger of another raid had passed away, therefore, our camp life was still strenuous, yet furnished much amusement. In our tent Walter Keating had great social qualities and a contagious laugh, while Xavier Thompson of Penetanguishene, was gifted with a fine voice and gay humor that made light of all hardships, and kept us in good spirits.

Some battalions were now withdrawn from the Frontier, while those remaining were hourly expecting orders to return home, when rumours of an attempt to destroy the Welland Canal resulted in the Barrie and Collingwood companies being sent to Port Colborne, greatly to their annoyanre. After a further stay of three weeks, we received with tumultuous joy orders to return to our homes.

This final return was an occasion of great rejoicing to the good people of Barrie, who welcomed with grateful hearts the return of their volunteers for the third time from warfare without a wound, or the loss of a man.

So ended the Fenian Raid which in a few short years will sink into oblivion.

All through these Campaigns we were greatly indebted to Lieutenant William O'Brien for his ever watchful care and extreme kindness to us under all circumstances, and which we will always hold in grateful remembrance; He represents the best type of a soldier.

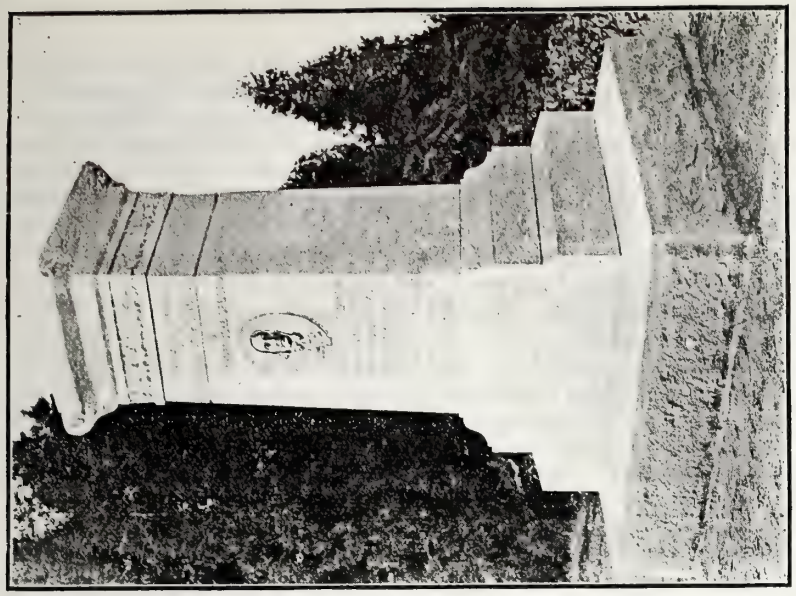
Wm. O'Brien, Barrister at Barrie, was afterwards Colonel of

the "Simcoe Forresters," is now Honorary Colonel of that Regiment, and resides at Shanty Bay near Barrie.

In the years that had passed since we first left our homes, there had been great changes in the lads fresh from school, who had perhaps gone out with the thought of a V. C. in their minds ; they had seen no brilliant battles, won no medals. but who under strenuous Military training had acquired the bearing and manners of men, in that they had striven to play their part like men upon the world's stage. Though it must be said that the greatest change our relatives could see in us was the development of abnormal appetites.

Colonel Lowry in his report from Fort Erie to the Minister of Militia, states that he was much indebted to Mr Nicol Kingsmill, and Mr. Allister Clarke of Toronto, for much valuable information and assistance. Mr. Kingsmill was an old Niagara Boy, and familiar with every section of the Niagara District, and as "Honorary Aid" to Colonel Lowry, was in a position to give reliable advice. But this report, said nothing of the midnight gallop later on of a party from Fort Erie to Clifton, and how recklessly "Mine Host Roslye" produced his rarest vintages in a royal celebration of Canada's victory.

In January 1867, I passed through the Military School at Toronto, and ten years later in 1877 when a Lieutenant in the St. Catherines Garrison Battery of Artillery, another Military experience was only just escaped. There had been rumours of an attempt to blow up Locks of the Welland Canal, and the Battery received orders to be in readiness to man a small vessel that was to be sent up: this for a time caused some excitement. We were under arms for a week, but nothing came of it, the preparedness ef the Government probably avoiding the danger.



MONUMENT TO LAURA INGERSOLL SECORD
QUEENSTON HEIGHTS

MRS. J. G. CURRIE

REMINISCENCES

BY MRS. J. G. CURRIE

We are much indebted to Mrs. Currie for her Reminiscences. To the late Mrs. Curzon of Toronto, first, and next to Mrs. Currie belongs the honor of bringing the name of Laura Ingersoll Secord before the public; Mrs. Curzon by her drama and ballad and Mrs. Currie by her life of Laura Secord, the edition of which is exhausted and a second with much additional matter is in preparation. At Mrs. Currie's request also, the portrait of the heroine has been placed in the Parliament building, (the only woman's portrait there to be found), also to her urgency the pension to the grand daughter of Mrs. Secord living in Guelph was given, and in appreciation of the work of Mrs. Currie the monument has been placed on Queenston Heights, Mrs. Currie having contributed to it the profits of her book, nearly three hundred dollars. Besides her valuable work in investigating the history of this neighborhood, Mrs. Currie was the originator of the Women's Literary and Historical Club of St. Catharines, which has existed for twenty years and has placed several markers on historic spots at St. David's and elsewhere.—EDITOR.

My friend Miss Carnochan has requested me to give some of the recollections of my life. My birthplace was at what is now called Niagara-on-the-Lake. The place where I was born was after many years replaced by the brick store of Whan & McLean. My birthday was on the 19th day of November, 1829. My father's name was Ursen Harvey; My mother's Caroline Hamlin, both of the township of East Bloomfield, Ontario County, New York State. Both the homes of my grandparents are still standing and in good preservation. Both were descended from revolutionary ancestors. Most people in Niagara have heard of the adventures and disappearance of a Free Mason of the name of Morgan. At the time of my father's engagement to my mother he was in the employment of Col. Sawyer of Canandaigua. At that period the Free Masons were a

great power in New York State. John Ross Robertson has told in his history of Free Masonry of the great influence the order possessed in political life and many other questions. Morgan had become dissatisfied and made threats of disclosure. He was arrested at Batavia and lodged in jail. From this he was transferred by some legal pretence to the jail at Canandaigua. Col. Sawyer was one of the heroes of the war of 1812, and high up in the masonic order. The Sheriff, Mr. Cheseboro, was also a prominent mason and both were prominent in the abduction of Morgan from the jail and his conveyance to Fort Niagara. Then he disappeared. The excitement was intense and the order was for many years under a cloud. Col. Sawyer had a saddlery establishment and my father had been in his employ. Both Col. Sawyer and Mr. Cheseboro were ruined, tried for their participation and escaped further penalty. My father was ready to try his fortunes elsewhere. A brother of my mother's had himself brought a flock of merino sheep to Grimsby and sold them and on my father's return he was in the employment of a Mr. Kerr who had a large saddlery ostablishment and used to send to Niagara for his supplies. In those days the mode of travel was by stage and those vehicles had a leather upper story requiring skill of the highest order. Niagara was the great source from which the country was supplied as a military station, and as it had stores of all kinds it was the commercial centre of the penninsula and also the social centre. My father was sent to make purchases. Chester Culver was then the leading merchant and he said to my father, "come here and open a saddlery, I will give you all you require." He came and opened his shop, returned to Bloomfield, married my mother and commenced his business life. He made it a rule to employ the best workmen and his business was a success from the first. Among his workmen were Samuel Kerr, Henry Wiston, James Dyke and his business increasing he started Mr. Kerr in Hamilton in the same business. At that time there were small tanneries all through the Niagara District. The ferry at Niagara and Queenston in those early days had small row boats for casual passengers and for teams what was called a horse boat. This was a large flat bottomed boat with a wheel in the middle on each side of which was a horse. When they moved the boat was put in motion, thus horses, teams and heavy loads of all kinds were conveyed across. In the winter season if there was ice in the river people waited for days to cross. Well do I remember as late as 1842, being detained at Wynn's Hotel in Queenston unable to cross.

We soon moved to another house which had an historic intsrest, as it was one of the two houses left standing when Niagara was

burned. Nearly opposite was the rough cast house of Mr. Varey, on the opposite corner was the residence of Mr. Lewis Clement, son of John Clemant, the Ranger, and nearly opposite to Mr. Lewis Clement was the home of Dr. Porter. The home in which we lived was long owned by the Swintons. My mother died when I was five months old and I was taken to my grandmother in Bloomfield.

Two of my father's workmen obtained wives in Beamsville, Mr. Wiston married a daughter of a Mr. Morris a U E. Loyalist and Mr. Kerr married Miss Alford also of Beamsville.

Among the earliest schools in Niagara was one kept by a Mrs. Butler whose husband was a retired officer. Mrs. Butler taught the small pupils who were both boys and girls. Miss Christie taught the young ladies who were all boarders, she afterwards married a son of Mr. Keefer one of the early founders of Thorold and a prominent family of the early days. Niagara was then at its height of prosperity. The Dicksons had built the houses which still remain. Capt. Melville also.

Mrs. Thorpe had a famous candy store where boys and girls spent their pennies. There was a bell on the door which rang when opened. The candies of that age were not got up in the style of the present those peppermint bull's eyes striped red, the cat's eyes which were round balls very hard, we bought them because they lasted longer and stick candy, this was about all the stock in trade. Steam boats were having their golden harvest. The race track with the annual races on the common brought the racing fraternity. Such was Niagara in those early days. Well do I remember my mother's taking me for a walk to a windmill not far from Fort Mississagua.

In those days every one kept a horse and my father driving in the country along the bank of the river where were orchards, gardens, all kinds of fruit such as wild strawberries which grew every where, raspberries, red and black, thimble berries whortle berries (low and high bushes.) The sugar in those days was high in price, most all of the fruit was preserved in maple sugar of which there was abundance made from the maple forest which crowned the country with its autumn glories. Wild grapes covered the fences and climbed the trees. The crabapple proved a help to the women's household stores, hickory nuts, chestnuts, butternuts, walnuts, hazel nuts, these things so dear to the young were found everywhere. Well did Father Daillon say in 1626 "it was the most fruitful land his eyes ever beheld. "Let me not forget the pawpaw our Canadian banana which flourished in the protecting shade. The

streams abounded in fish, the white fish and wild pigeons came in early spring, then the larger game such as deer as late as 1850 were killed in some townships, Dried venison could be bought. Laws to protect game were not thought of. The enormous fireplaces with their capacious chimneys furnished the blazing fires of the homes.

There were at that time five churches in Niagara, St. Mark's, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Andrews, the Methodist and that for the Colored people.

MY SCHOOL DAYS

In giving the recollections of my first lessons under Mrs. Butler will be included my education as life advanced and will show under what difficulties education was obtained. We removed to St. Davids on the last day of December 1834. At that time small tanneries could be found in many of the settlements in the district. Mr. Moore had the largest one at the time and from him my father made purchases but being in failing health offered the tannery to my father on reasonable terms giving him all the time he wished to make his payments and in one month's time all arrangements were made and the removal to St. Davids was made. My brother and I went to the public school which was on part of the land given by Major David Secord for Church, school and burying ground. The teacher at that time was Mr. Dennis Hanlan. He was a most beautiful penman. Well do I remember that first day in school, a young girl stood in the school room door, she asked me what my name was, took off my wraps, then asked, Can you read ? and seemed surprised when I answered "yes." Then she produced Marvor's Spelling Book, having read in this she brought a Testament, this proving satisfactory an English Reader was brought and having read in this she concluded by saying "you can go into the first class." This was my first examination. The friendship formed in that way continued through life. She was Margaret Woodruff, daughter of Richard Woodruff, merchant. She married the late Samuel Zimmerman who was killed at that terrible railway disaster on the Desjardins Canal near Hamilton. I was one of her brides-maids and the pleasant memories connected with her life are one of my dearest recollections.

Mr. Hanlan who for some years was Township clerk moved to Stamford and till I was nine or ten years old I continued in the public school. At that time the scholars took their turn to keep the school room tidy. The boys brought in the wood, went for the water to drink. The girls swept, the teacher set the copies for us to

write which were arranged alphabetically. There were no steel pens in those days, the teachers had to prepare the quill pens Those that could afford purchased in the store what were called "clarified" quills but we always asked for qualified quills but some sought on the creek, where many geese were to be seen, for the wing feathers to be made into quill pens. A large stove stood in the centre of the school room, the wood was piled on the floor under the stove. The desks were at the upper end one long and one short one on the side and the small children sat on low benches without a back in front of the desks of which there were only six in the room. The windows were uncurtained, a bench with the pail of water and a tin cup from which all drank stood at the entrance of the school room.

When about nine or ten years old, Mr. Peter Clement (son of John the Ranger) who lived fully a mile and a half from St. Davids on one of what were called the "swamp roads" had a governess for his children and proposed that I should come there. The governess was Miss Fanny Sibbald a Scotch lady from Edinburgh and a good teacher in every respect. Mr. Clement had built a school house and in the summer season I used to walk from St Davids and then home again taking a lunch with me. A brother of Mr. Clement Mr. George Clement lived near by and the sisters of his wife, daughters of John C. Ball attended the school. Miss Mary Ball afterwards Mrs. Peter Servos, Miss Ball (Mrs. Dow,) Miss Amelia Ball (Mrs. Roe,) Miss Elizabeth Clement of Niagara afterwards Mrs. E. Camp were pupils at different times. We used any school books. The time during the forenoon was given to the lessons, in the afternoon we were taught sewing, cotton embroidery and during the sewing hours one or more read aloud from ancient history. We had histories of Greece in pamphlet form, Pinnock's Rome and English history, Magnall's Questions. When the winter season arrived Miss Helena Woodruff and myself boarded at Mr. Clement's from Monday morning until Friday afternoon. I think I was there for eighteen months. Miss Sibbald opened a school in Niagara which she kept for some time as a boarding and day school.

When about twelve years of age a cousin of my mother's asked that I should be sent to East Bloomfield where an Academy had been opened, this was in the fall of the year and I was to be made ready for the first opportunity of going there. I remember that a Miss Jeffers of Hamilton was visiting us and made my dresses. It was not till the spring of 1842 that I went to Bloomfield, an uncle and aunt from Michigan visited St. Davids on their way to Bloomfield and on a Monday evening we went to Lewiston and stayed at

the Frontier House over night. This place had a sign in one frame, which read three different ways according to the position you occupied. In the early morning we left by stage, drove to the Molyneux Farm where we breakfasted and drove on till dinner when the horses were changed and thus on through Tuesday and Wednesday. Some of the sign boards I still remember, one hotel had this upon it, "This is the house of peace and plenty, always full and never empty." Another had a pretty home with the owner and his wife driving away with a fine carriage and good horse, on the opposite side was a poor man with nothing but a bundle lying beside him looking at his dilapidated house and ruinous fences. On the first side was "Going to Law." On the other "Been to Law." Our route was by the Ridge Road. On Wednesday afternoon we left the stage at Sandy Creek and hired a conveyance to take us to Holley where a sister of my mother lived and on Friday morning took the canal boat for Rochester twenty-five miles distant and at 6 p. m. left there on the Railway (New York Central) getting off in a pouring rain at Victor where we stayed all night and the next morning Saturday morning hired a conveyance for East Bloomfield four miles distant reaching my cousins Misses Fairchilds', the journey having taken nearly a week, now we can go in six hours. On Monday morning commenced my school days in Bloomfield where I was for two years. The Principal was the Rev. T. D. Stowe a strong believer in the prohibition of slavery. He was called to the pastorate of West Bloomfield ; his successor was Mr. Hall. The school was well managed and had many pupils, boarders with the Principal while for those who lived only a few miles away there were rooms furnished and they brought supplies from home staying from Monday to Friday. Wednesday afternoon was devoted to the public and friends, the folding doors were opened between the boys' and girls' room. The boys spoke selections from the speeches of Revolutionary days, Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death" was a great favorite as was also "Lochiel's warning" The young ladies walked from their room the length of both rooms,the assistant Lady Teacher marched the opposite side in bonnet and shawl to the end of the boy's room. There we made a profound courtesy to the teacher and she bows. We had to practise this by ourselves so as to do it gracefully. The boys used to be marched up and down with their assistant teacher into the girls' room to go through the performance while their parents and friends looked on.

SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

My school days at Bloomfield lasted two years then I returned

home for a year. In the following July went to a Young Ladies' Seminary. Miss Hannah Upham of New England was the Principal. She was brought to the trustees notice by the famous Daniel Webster. She had an efficient staff. Her school was famous in every way, discipline, study, incitement to do our best, two nieces were her assistants, Miss Anna Upham as Associate Principal and Miss Martha Upham on the teachers' staff Miss Anna Adams, Miss Johnson and Miss Wright of Maine—Miss Smith who occupied afterwards a high position as teacher in New York City, Monsieur Dufour was French instructor and Professor Mort of Germany taught music, the drawing teacher was a Scottish lady, Miss Jeffrey, whose portfolio was full of historic sketches of places and buildings connected with Scottich history. These sketches created a taste for literature and scenery for which Mr. Kirby had imbued my mind. There were residents of Canandaigua from Scotland the old companions and friends of Sir Walter Scott who kept his memory and his literary work before the people, and their children attended the school. The Patons, the Monteiths and others who had homes on the beautiful lake. The seminary had a ball alley and a place for calisthenics on rainy days when we could not take our daily walk. Saturday afternoons we could go by ourselves and accept invitations to tea. The teachers belonged to various Protestant denominations and our parents had designated what churches we should attend. At that period in the 1840's a Scottish gentlemen a Mr. Greig had the finest residence in Canandaigua and his conservatory was the first I had seen. The pupils were allowed to visit the conservatory with the teachers. Mr. Greig was very wealthy and childless, had married a widow, Mrs. Chapin, who with her sister often visited the school. Mr. Greig's home was visited by the leading people of the United States and travellers from Europe. At one time the sons of the Duke of Orleans travelled on foot through many of the northern States, staying at one time at Mr Chapin's (the father of Mrs. Greig) he gave the future King of France, Louis Philippe and his brother a pair of shoes. Mr. Greig founded the Orphan's Home in Rochester and some of the furniture from his mansion is in the home for girls at Canandaigua. Miss Upham was ever ready to take her pupils to lectures and concerts. These were given at "Blossom House" the hotel which is now the New York Central Railway Station. Well do I recollect a lecture given in the Court House by Dr. Boynton upon the newly discovered Telegraph system. Wires to illustrate were stretched from end to end of the room and explanations and illustrations were given. A prophecy made a lasting impression on my mind "I predict" said Dr. Boynton "that

in less than ten years there will be a telegraphic line from New York City to Buffalo." In one year's time so rapidly did its influence spread that Buffalo was reached, and that through the Canadian peninsula to Detroit the poles were placed. This prediction was in 1845. The improvements and discourses in electricity during the last half century and its application to all branches of usefulness can not be numbered by figures. The instruction given had a broad influence on the minds of that day. My school days ended in 1846. What I have told shows the difficulties of obtaining an education in those days. One of the plans brought before the public was the spanning of the Niagara river by a Suspension Bridge. A kite was wafted across the river and Canada and the United States were soon united by a wire cable and an iron basket shaped like a cradle took those across who were willing to make the venture. The first Suspension Bridge was only for pedestrians and carriages. The construction of the Great Western (now Grand Trunk) Railway was soon followed by the Railway Bridges of which five now span the river. The terminus was first called Elgin but now has been changed to Niagara Falls. The first building the Elgin House, still remains.

SAMUEL ZIMMERMAN

When Mr. Zimmerman came to Canada he became alive to the possibilities of Niagara Falls. From the Ferry to the top of the hill were any number of unsightly buildings, his purchase of a home, the Clifton House and the grounds which are the entrance to Victoria Niagara Falls Park were the beginning of the dream of his aspiring brain and he did not overestimate the beauty and commercial value of the spot. He grew with his surroundings, the old rookeries disappeard, new buildings rose on every side. He surprised many by the broadness of his views, "I have no politics" he said "I will support whoever will support my plans for this place and the country. The terrible Des Jardins accident cut short his career with that of many other prominent men of Canada. A period of financial depression followed lasting many years. Mr. Zimmerman was at first interred at his home Niagara Falls where it was intended to have a monument built but he was re-interred at St. Davids in the vault constructed by him for his wife and sister but his name is not upon the monument. His second wife was Miss Emmeline Dunn of Three Rivers, Quebec. There were no children by this marriage. The Clifton House was destroyed by fire in 1898 but has since been rebuilt. Mr. Zimmerman built a Concert Hall and six cottages adjacent to the Clifton House. When the Prince of Wales now King

Edward visited Canada in 1860 the mansion of Mr. Zimmerman was selected for his use and fitted up for his stay which was only four days. The illumination of the Falls and river was grand and beautiful. Our American friends gave their kindly aid to make its beauties more wonderful, colored lights being placed around in every possible way. The Prince arrived on Friday late in the afternoon. On Saturday afternoon Blondin crossed the river on a rope carrying a man on his shoulders, the Prince and suite being witnesses. On Sunday they attended church at Chippawa and on Monday various places of local interest were visited on Tuesday morning at Queenston to lay the corner stone of the cenotaph which marks the spot where Brock fell and in the afternoon at Niagara and St. Catharines and attended a ball at Hamilton in the evening, attended by his suite, while the leaders of state and society were present, Sir George Cartier, Sir Edmund Head, the Duke of Newcastle and many other celebrities. I have yet the silver maple leaf badge which many of us wore. From Hamilton the Prince proceeded to the United States where an equally warm reception awaited him. As we recall 1860 many events follow in succession ; the election of Abraham Lincoln, the attempted secession of the Southern States and in consequence the Civil War, the embarrassments of our proximity, its ending, the Fenian Raids and their failure, these all have affected us and strengthened the tie that binds us to our motherland. During these years of trial we have learned the worth of our possessions, the East and the West from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Arctic seas to the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence which mark our boundaries Within them are the wheat fields that give bread to the world and will furnish homes for the crowded lands and ill paid toilers of Europe. The changes since my schooldays astound and bewilder. The Marconi system of telegraphy has changed the perils of the sea to safety and rescue, the wooden walls of England are replaced by Dreadnoughts, the sailing vessels by magnificent steamers giving a passage of six days instead of six weeks.

There are problems to be settled yet by our people and those of other lands. California refusing permission to the Japanese to be educated in the public schools. The starving millions of China and India refused admission to some of onr provinces. All are needed, some for domestic purposes, some to build our railways. How can we force an entrance to China at the Cannon's mouth and refuse admittance to our territories

And there are problems for our women too. The necessities of modern life are endless and require wisdom, patience, intelligence to carry on pleasantly a well kept home. Do the men and women

of our day ever read the 31st chapter of Proverbs ? It was written 3000 years ago. They are the words of a King which his mother taught him. It describes the woman of that period and places her value far above rubies. She was evidently well informed to be able to conduct her house, her servants and had business qualities of a high order. Her dress and that of her household the furnishings of the house show the estimation in which she was held. White and scarlet, tapestry, silk and purple, she made fine linen and sold the overplus, took orders and delivered girdles to the merchants. Her children blessed her and her husband praised her. Then comes the command. Give her the fruit of her hands and let her own works praise her in the gates. Does not all this lean in the direction of equal r ghts. Why do women wish to vote ? Because they want to protect the home. Because they wish to banish intemperance from the land. Because they want temptation removed from the young so that sober men and sober women may be the fathers and mothers of this Dominion.

As these things pass before me on the march of time we can eay the day for Canada has come at the last. Let us have high ideals and live up to them. Our schools should be the hope of our country. No one can know too much, The great thing is to know the realities of life its needs and what is our part to do.

RECOLLECTIONS OF MR. WM. KIRBY

It was my fortune to meet Mr. Kirby long before he became famous, and childish recollections of him are pleasant and when I met him in later life and renewed acquaintances this friendship lasted till his death. The rebellion was drawing to its close when Mr. Kirby came to St. Davids. He came from Concinatti and brought with him a trunk of books and a rifle the latter he said to shoot the rebels with. He must then have been about twenty and I was nine years of age. He was a member of our household for some years and took great interest in my brother and myself and took pains to explain many things to us, I remember he made out of a cigar box a camera obscura to illustrate what I could not get through my childish head. I had been to Niagara Falls and there was a large circular one there, and movable so that you could see the Falls in various views. He used to read to us from his French and German books. He attended the sale of Captain Usher's effects after he was shot, and bought Smollett's novels and gave me Roderick Random, Count Fathom and Sir Lancelot in one volume. I cut out the pictures of old copperplate engravings and gave them to the Historical Society.

After he left us I did not see him for years. Some time during the 1850's coming home from Toronto on the steamer a gentleman came up and spoke to me saying "Do you remember me ?" I said "Yes, you are Mr. Kirby." I was a young woman then. We renewed our acquaintance and were always friends until his life ended and he attended our Literary Pilgrimages as long as his health permitted. Longfellow, it is said, got his traditions for Hiawatha from him. He was a book worm in every sense of the word. Books were his world. It was ever a pleasure to meet him and such I believe was the feeling of all whom he met as his scholarly attainments made him a friend to all of that nature.

Another of my childish recollections is connected with the rescue of Mosely the colored man from Kentucky an escaped slave who was to be returned on a charge of stealing his master's horse. The blacks from all around had gathered to prevent his being returned to slavery and while he escaped two colored men were killed and others wounded. Well do I remember seeing a whole load of black men standing up in a waggon driving furiously returning from Niagara where Mosely had been confined in jail. One of the men had a bullet or bayonet wound in his cheek. His name was MacIntyre. His wife was a character and a great helper at their revival meetings, the colored people had a church of their own before we did, and the St. David's boys often attended not always for a good purpose as one night one of their number dressed in women's clothes. The seats were nothing but boards on trestles and he unfortunately forgot his proper part and straddled the board. Mrs. MacIntyre's eyes saw him and he saw his only chance was flight. He ran and she also, he was caught in trying to climb a rail fence, their stories disagree, hers being that she administered a thrashing and he denying this, whichever is most probable may be believed.

There was a brewery and distillery in St. Davids and in the adjoining township of Stamford, above St. Davids another brewery and distillery. Near by was a log house and a pond adjoining where protracted meetings were held and where people were "dipped." That was what this form of baptism was called, but the principle place for this was Major Secord's pond which still exists in the village and people came from far and near to see the ceremony.

One other circumstance I remember which produced abiding results, it took place at St. Davids' school house. One Saturday morning the large boys took the key, sent the girls home and would not allow the school master to enter until he gave them money to buy beer which he foolishly did. The beer was purchased and the

boys were intoxicated, but good came out of evil as the young boys suffered so from the effects of the beer that they grew up sober men. When Mr. Richard Woodruff was elected member of Parliament a chair covered with a buffalo robe was placed on a platform and he was carried around the village by his friends.

When Lord Durham was in Canada we had a great jubilee one evening. Empty tar barrels were placed on supports and set on fire, balls of candlewick dipped in turpentine were tossed about Of course we thought these primitive fireworks were grand, bon-fires blazed on which every combustible that could be gathered up was used. Lord Durham's administration is looked on as the commencement of better days in Canada.

Lord Elgin with his family spent a summer at Niagara Falls. He rented a hotel owned by Mr. Joseph Woodruff a merchant in Drummondville now Niagara Falls South. They often drove to a Mr. McKinley's on the Thorold Road who had once been a tenant on their estate in Scotland. There were others whom the ladies of the household visited especially sick ones and the alleviations brought to them by these kindly acts are pleasant memories.

Canadian Confederation in The Making with Some Glimpses of the Confederators

An Essay Written by Rev. A. F. MacGregor, B. A, for the Niagara Historical Society and read at its Meeting on Monday, April 25th, 1910

William Ewart Gladstone in one of his speeches on the project of Self-Government for Ireland said :—"I hold that there is such a thing as local patriotism which in itself is not bad, but good ?." The Welshman is full of local patriotism, Englishmen are eminently English, Scotchmen are profoundly Scotch and if I read Irish History aright, misfortune and calamity have wedded her sons to the soil. But it does not follow that because a man's local patriotism is keen he is incapable of imperial patriotism."

Were Gladstone speaking to-day I think he would have cited one other case and would have added, "Canadians are full of local patriotism and they are friendly to the policy which aims at a close knitting of the various territories which form the British Empire.

To trace the evolution of the Imperial in Government and patriotism from the local would be an interesting study, if indeed, at some points, an intricate task. That however is not the purpose of this paper. Its aim must be more restricted and may be defined to be "Canadian Confederation in the Making with some glimpses of the Confederators."

Wordsworth in one of his sonnets refers to the over reliance of some statesmen on fleets and armies and eternal wealth, "But from within," he says "proceeds a nation's health." Now that being so a Nation cannot enjoy National health if there is disunion within its own borders. No more than the human body can be in health if there is disunion in the body. It is with nationhood as with the physical frame of man—if one part is suffering every other part suffers with it.

For years after the American Revolution, the British Colonies this side the water suffered through division and separateness. Ont-

ario and Quebec or Upper and Lower Canada suffered in this way and so did New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

The basis of the representation of the Provinces in Parliament was a vexed question. Upper Canada being more populous for years than lower Canada, beiug more wealthy, also, and paying more taxes, claimed that it should send more members to Parliament Hence the question of Representation by Population became a very troublous one. It was a source of that condition of dispeace which is always unfavorable to the growth and progress of communities.

Domosthenes in his oration on The Crown maintaines that two things are characteristic of a well-disposed citizen.—"In authority his constant aim is the dignity and pre-eminence of the Commonwealth and in all times and circumstances his spirit should be loyal."

The pre-eminence of the Commonwealth of Canada in the thoughts and plans of its Citizens was endangered for a number of years before 1865 by sectional rivalries and provincial jealousies. One proof of the perplexing political wars of a part of that period is the fact that from the 21st of May 1862 to the end of June 1864 there were no less than five different ministers in charge of the public business. Legislation came at last to a dead-lock. Some change therefore had to be made in the Constitution if the Common interests of the country were to be preserved and stable government enjoyed. Constant collision between the Executive and Representative bodies was innimical to the general welfare.

Three things conspired to bring about a change ; Brit sh sentiment beyond the sea, the ferment in the provinces of British North America and the example of the working of a principle of Confederation in the adjoining Republic of the United States.

Many wise measures have had either their historic beginnings or their first public advocacy in the East. It is to the credit of the Maritime Provinces that the desire for the larger Union of the Provinces took root there in a manifestly earnest form. To Lord Durham, during his very brief period of governorship in Canada rightly belongs a large share of the honor of having prepared the minds of the people for the idea of a federal union. He must be credited with a foreshadowing of a union of all the Provinces. The hope grew as years went on. The idea found a friendly reception in the minds of an increasing number. Between 1838 and 1860 the building of an Intercolonial Railway as a bond of Union was not only earnestly discussed but actually negotiated for though at the time, the project failed of united support.

Among those who half-consciously perhaps were holding aloft

the banner of the broader union in a conspicuous manner was Alexander Tulloch Galt. He was the son of John Galt a well-known Scottish author who as a Commissioner of Canada came to this country in 1824. Alexander was born in Chelsea, London England in 1817 and when only 17 years of age was appointed to an office in connection with the British American Land Company. He took up his abode in the Eastern Township and was elected to Parliament for the Constituency of Sherbrook in April 1849. In 1858 he advocated in a telling speech a Federal Union of the British North America Colonies and on a later occasion he insisted that the matter should be taken up as a cabinet question. Incidentally it may be mentioned that in 1864, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island discussed the idea of Union between themselves.

Another distinguished contributor to Confederation was the Hon. George Brown. He must have been a politician from his birth in Edinburgh in 1818. His father Peter Brown was a well-informed and ardent politician. In March 1844 George Brown undertook the Toronto Globe, a newspaper that during all its history has been of commanding influence in Canadian public affairs. With all his mental power and strong grasp of principle, with his understanding of vigorous action he gave himself to the laying deep and strong of the foundations of true Constitutional liberty and the consolidation of Canadian elements without regard to separating lines. Representation by population, the principle for which he battled so long and so bravely found at length its recognition in Confederation.

It will always be a matter of regret that George Brown resigned from the Cabinet of the Coalition government before the plan of Confederation was fully perfected, as Gray in his work on Confederation remarks "Either he ought not to have joined the Government or he ought not to have left it at that time."

But every man must be left to decide for himself his duty, and history if just will even testify that the Hon. George Brown was the chief influence in Ottawa in favor of Confederation as Sir George Cartier was the chief influence in its favor in Quebec.

But the great actor to whom belongs the crowning merit of bringing Confederation to a successful consummation was Sir John A. Macdonald. He was a tactician of the first rank. If he had what Browning calls "the trick of fence and knew subtle pass," if he could on occasion, dispose of an objection by some off-hand and jaunty fling he yet had the capital secret of a masterly leadership. It was he who on the 6th Feb 1865 formally introduced the ques-

tion of Confederation in an address to her Majesty Queen Victoria. The close of that address may be taken as a summary of his own views on the Question and gives evidence that the subject had pass ed through the fire of his own thought. It gives a glimpse also of the capacity of the speaker. His words were, "In this younger country one great advantage of our connection with Great Britain will be, that under her auspices, inspired by her example, a portion of her Empire, our public men will be actuated by the statesmen at home. These, although not material physical benefits, of which you can make arithmetical calculation are of such overwhelming advantage to our future interests, and standing as a nation that to obtain them is well worthy of any sacrifice we can be called to make. . . . Here we are in peace and prosperity under the fostering care of Great Britain . . with a Government having only a limited authority and yet allowed without restriction and without jealousy on the part of the Mother Country to legislate for ourselves and peacefully and deliberately to consider and determine the future of Canada and of British North America.

It was only by a happy concurrence of circumstances that we were enabled to bring this great question to its present position If we do not take advantage of the time, if we show ourselves unequal to the occasion, we shall hereafter bitterly and unavailingly regret having failed to embrace the opportunity now offered of the founding a great nation under the fostering care of Great Britain and our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria."

Two days afterwards George Brown in the course of his address on the proposed Union said—and his words reveal no small degree of prophetic penetration. "Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the Union because it will raise us from the attitude of a number of inconsiderable colonies into a great and powerful people. It will throw down the barriers of trade and give us the market of millions of people. I go for a Union because it will give a new start and immigration into our country."

But we must go back a little in order to see how the tide of Confederation came to its flood. Three Conferences or Conventions at different places and at different times prepared the way for the consummation of Confederation. To these briefly attention must now be called. They were.—

(1) The conference at Charlottetown on the 8th September 1864.
(2) The conference in Quebec in October of the same year.
(3) The gathering in the Westminster Palace Hotel in November 1866.

There were various other meetings in the intervals between

those at which reports of progress were considered and further measures taken to expedite the desired end but we centre thought, for a few moments on the Conferences, as specified, because of their outstanding importance in securing the main result.

For the Conference in Charlottetown the delegates were selected from the ranks of the Liberals and the Conservatives. Dr. Tupper the leader of the Government in Nova Scotia was there and Mr. Tilley the leader of the Government of New Brunswick and fore most of the members selected by the Goveror General to represent the upper Provinces were the Hon. John A Macdonald, George Brown, George E. Cartier and Alexander T. Galt. Two snbjects engaged principal attention at this Convention—the detrimental way in which conflicting tariffs operated to each others disadvantage and the development of the various interior resources that would be fostered by a freer intercourse of trade. In connection with the gathering and promotion of its special object a splendid Banquet was tendered the delegates in Halifax. At this banquet a notable speech was made by the Hon. Geo. Brown then President of the Executive Council of Canada. Gray speaks of this address in his book in these terms, "it was the first of a series of speeches delivered then and during the subsequent months by delegates throughout the Provinces. Mr. Brown's address gave a practical shape and mould to the agitation of the public mind and gathered the floating ideas respecting Union into a tangible form and found for them a local habitation and a name."

Then followed the Conference at Quebec in October. There came to it delegates from the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland with the Representatives and Ministers of the Crown and with the full sanction of the Imperial Government. The meeting place was historic, beneath the shadow of Cape Diamond on the ruins of the old Castle of St. Louis Descendents of the race of Saxons and Gauls formerly estranged, now came together in a spirit of Unity and for a common cause.

Sir. E. P. Tache the Premier presided. It was agreed that the voting should be by Provinces rather than by Members. The two Canadas were in the centre with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia on one side and Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland on the other.

In a clear and comprehensive speech the Hon. John A. Macdonald dealt with the series of Resolutions submitted by him. Population was to be the basis of representation. There were 72 Resolutions in all. There was long and often animated discussion on

the various points involved. The delegates separated to report in due course to their respective Parliaments.

Suffice it here to note that Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland held aloof not finding the terms proposed agreeable to them.

In the meanwhile there were many expressions of the public sentiment with reference to the proposed Union in England, in Scotland and in the United States

In July of '66 Tache, the Canadian Premier and President of the Council passed away. He had been a warm advocate of Union and the last act of his public life was a loyal supporting of the measure in the Legislature.

Then took place on the 4th of the month of December the Assembly at Westminster There were 16 delegates in all. Lord Monck also was present assisting the delegates and the Imperial Government. The Conference sat until Dec. the 24th.

Draft bills having been prepared by the Conference and by the Imperial Officers of how these were submitted to Parliament on Feb. 5th 1867. The Amalgamation Bill passed through all the necessary stages in both houses and by the 29th March it received the Royal Assent. By a Proclamation issued at Windsor Castle Her Majesty's Government gave effect to the Confederation Act, an Act to be thereafter known as the British North America Act. It came into force on the First of July the birthday of the Dominion of Canada.

Such in rapidly sketched outline was the accomplishment of the Canadian Confederation. Much remains yet to be done and why not, seeing that Canada is as yet but an infant nation? She has time in store. Her day is full of promise. The path of grand achievements lies full before her citizens. Cicero in his 14th Philippic quoted Crassus as wisely saying "There is a great field in the Republic ; the road to glory is open to many." Surely it may be said of Canada—There is a great field in the Dominion and the road to glory is open to all—the glory of going on together, different races though we be, going on in one spirit of loyalty and patriotism. Let Canadian loyalty be, as always and everywhere it must be if real, an upspringing not a machine made thing. If it issues from the consciousness of being in possession of a great trust, from a common hatred of whatever is unworthy in Government from a common love of what has been glorious in our traditions, from a common determination to maintain just and equal laws, from a common upholding of one standard of personal and civic virtue, then truly what is and what has been, is but earnest of that which is to be.

What one of Ireland's gifted sons once said of Ireland, every loyal Canadian may, with greater reason say of United Canada. "I see prosperity in all its gradations spreading through a happy religious land. I hear the hymn of a happy people go forth at sunrise to God in praise of His mercies—and I see the evening sun set down among the uplifted hands of a religious population. Every blessing that man can bestow and Religion can confer upon the faithful heart shall spread throughout this land."

Niagara has done something toward the making of Canada, something on which the light of a grateful memory is likely long to rest. The Historical Society to which I contribute this paper, all too unworthy though it be, is, I am persuaded a worthy factor in the greater making of a commonwealth of fidelities and national service, fidelities and services which age and comparison shall never rob of a ray.

Nova Scotia was represented by :—
Hon. Charles Tupper, Provincial Secretary.
" Wm. Alex'r. Henry, Attorney General.
" Jonathan McCully, Leader of Opposition.
" Robert B. Dickey, M L. C.
" Adams George Archibald, M. P. P.

New Brunswick was represented by :—
Hon. Sam'l. Leonard Tilley, Provincial Secretary.
" John M. Johnson, Attorney General.
" William H. Steeves, M. L. C.
" Edward Barron Chandler M. L. C.
" Peter Mitchell, M. L. C.
" John Hamilton Gray, M. P. P.
" Charles Fisher, M. P. P.

Prince Edward Island was represented by :—
Hon. John Hamilton Gray, Premier
" Edward Palmer, Attorney General
" William H. Pope, Provincial Secretary
" A. A. Macdonald, M. L. C.
" Edward Whelan. M. L. C.
" George Coles, M. P. P.
" T. H. Haviland, M. P. P.

Newfoundland sent only two representatives :—
Hon. F, B. Carter, Speaker of the House of Assembly.
" John Ambrose Shea, Leader of Opposition.

The representatives for Canada were :—
Hon. John Alexander Macdonald

Hon. George Etienne Cartier
" George Brown
" Alexander Tulloch Galt
" T. D'Arcy McGee
" Oliver Mowat
" Etienne P. Tache
" William McDougall
" H. L. Langevin
" A. P. Cockburn
" J. C. Chapais

Sir Etienne Tache, the Canadian Premier was chosen President of the Conference, and Major Hewitt Bernard of the staff of the Attorney General West, was appointed Secretary.

Extracts from the Journal of De M. Thomas Vercheres de Boucherville

A Paper Read Before the Niagara Historical Society 21st March 1910 by Miss Carnochan.

In looking over the Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal for 1901 the names of the Count de Puisaye and Quetton St. George as well as the word Niagara struck my eye and I read the article carefully. As there were many references to Niagara and vicinity the thought occurred to me that a translation of such parts would make an interesting paper for our Society. Permission was kindly granted to us to publish in one of our pamphlets. The journal is interesting and valuable as being written by one of a different language and with all the verve and vivacity of the French speaking of the laws of honour, boasting a little as may be expected, but showing also a high sense of duty to his employer and depicting the manner of conducting business in Canada a century ago. It also brings in Proctor and Tecumseh in that disastrous and badly managed battle of Moravian Town. It is a very long article, the first part devoted to h s adventures and hardships as far as Lake Winipeg with the Indians, as a clerk with Sir Alexander Mackenzie of the North West Company 1803, but only the parts touching on our own vicinity have been translated and much of the vivacity of the French writer is lost in the translation for which apologies are offered.

The writer of this journal was descended from Pierre Boucher the "Patriarch" who came to Canada in 1635. But the interesting part to us tells of his employment with Quetton St. George and visits to Niagara telling of Count de Puisaye also. The second part gives an account of the defeat of Proctor at Thamesville and gives an incident in which the name of Col. Wm. Claus is mentioned.

"By a happy chance a gentleman of French origin came to this country a few years ago with a group of friends (royalists) among whom was the Count de Puisaye with the intention of settling in Can ada came to Boucherville to meet my brother-in-law Col. de Lery with whom he was connected, he was also acquainted slightly with

my father. The name of this gentleman was Quetton St. George and he lived in the little village of York called Toronto. One day when he was dining at our house the conversation incidentally turned to commercial affairs ; he said that he was going to lose an excellent clerk who was leaving him on his return to York and that he wished very much to have a Canadian to replace him. My mother always looking ahead seized the ball on the bound and immediately asked him if he would be willing to take me into his service. Looking at me he asked me if hardship would frighten me, that I would possibly be exposed to it in coming to hire with him at York. I replied with animation that neither hardship nor hardwork frightened me, that both were familiar to me having met them face to face during my stay in the North West. Yes hard experiences are sometimes fortunate. The sitting terminated, the arrangements were concluded and three days were given me to make my preparations for the journey. I left once more the paternal roof. It was in October M. St. George sent me to Lachine the bearer of a letter to Mr. Grant his agent telling him to have his boats ready for the next morning. M. St. George reached us indeed in good time and at eleven o'clock we left the shore heavily loaded. The journey went on without any trouble to Kingston formerly known by the name of Frontenac or Cateraqui. It is a splendid place very suitable for a harbour. Here M. St. George took me to the home of one of his friends a French emigrant like himself of the name of Boiton. I had learned that Mr. Foretier also resided here. I went to see him for I knew that he was an old friend of M. de Lery my brother-in-law as well as of my brother, all being well acquainted when they were in the Royal Canadian Regiment, M. St. George accompanied me and we were welcomed by this gentleman whose son was living at Detroit

The next day, that of our departure, the wind blew so strongly that I thought every moment to see the boat upset. The waves were short but deep and caused movements in us very annoying now and then. The voyage however was very short for the strong wind helped us powerfully. Having cast anchor in the bay at York we soon landed and I went to the dwelling intended for me. Immediately I was made acquainted with the three clerks of the establishment, Mr. John Dettor, the Bookkeeper, John McDonald the first clerk and Edward Vigneau whom I was coming to replace These gentlemen shewed much kindness to me during my stay with them. The rule of the house was that the youngest clerks were subject to the hardest work of the store so that I had a great share of it during a year. It is not necessary for me to enter into details, let it suffice to say that

the young man who wishes to do his duty ought to do all that is required of him so long as honour and conscience are not opposed to it.

In the autumn after the goods came I went to pass some days with the Count de Chalus and the Viscount his brother. These were French emigrants, friends of M. de St. George, who lived four or five leagues from York.

The winter passed without any remarkable event and I had reason to believe that my master was very well pleased with me. In the month of July 1805 one of the debtors of M. St George ran away leaving him his creditor for a large sum of money. He asked me if I felt myself capable of going in pursuit of him even to Buffalo in American territory passing by Niagara and Fort Erie. I replied in the affirmative as the thief was only two days ahead of me. I was furnished with a warrant to apprehend him if I had the good fortune to overtake him and I set out with a friend Mr. Cameron in a little Indian canoe made by the Mississaguas. At four o'clock in the afternoon with very calm weather we commenced our journey to Niagara situated ten leagues from York in our frail vessel. We had to guide us on the lake a compass and a lantern containing a candle which gave us the necessary light to watch the needle so as not to go astray. I had chosen the night for this perilous expedition for in summer it is very rare that the wind blows on this lake at night. It was near midnight when we saw right in front of our canoe something very high. Having remarked to Mr. Cameron what it could be he replied to me that he was under the impression that it was the sail of a boat which was waiting for a favorable wind. We approached silently and arrived at a suitable distance, I hailed the boat. The watchman replied "Toronto," Captain Hall was the commander and he politely invited us to come on board which we did at once. He could not prevent himself showing his surprise and condemned our imprudence at venturing to such a great distance on the lake in a frail craft such as we were using Indeed had the wind risen we should have been destined to go to the bottom and no longer be counted among the living. Having taken a glass of excellent wine we resumed our journey to Niagara being still distant five or six leagues according to Capt. Hall. At the break of day the high banks of Niagara were visible but still distant enough to appear to recede from us as we approached them.

At Niagara I was taken to the house of Count de Puisaye by M. de Farcy who gave me a good strong horse. Without giving myself time to take any food I started for Chippawa where I stopped to rest a short time. Happy news I learned here that the individ-

ual for whom I was searching had passed that same morning to Fort Erie. On learning this I immediately mounted my horse and made him take a faster gait so as to arrive at Fort Erie the soonest possible. After fifty-fours of a very fatiguing course, since morning until nine o'clock in the evening I alighted at a hotel. To my great delight I found there my man in sight quietly taking his supper, this was in the inn called Front.

Immediately in presence of two witnesses I read to him my warrant and arrested him in the name of his Majesty. My prisoner passed the entire night under the guard of my two men and the next day he was taken to the jail at Niagara and afterwards to that of Toronto. This painful and fatiguing task finished I set out from Fort Erie for the establishment of Count de Puisaye and from it to Niagara where I had left Cameron who was waiting my return with an anxiety easy to conceive still more as the schooner Toronto was on the brink of returning. This time I had the canoe put on board and we returned to York in the vessel as may easily be understood.

I must confess that it was not without experiencing much pleasure that I returned to M. de St. George an account of the success which had crowned my journey The news of the arrest of his dishonest debtor gave him lively pleasure and from that moment he placed all his confidence in me.

In the month of September I had the misfortune to fall sick of the ague. Every day at two o'clock in the afternoon headache and pain between my shoulders attacked me with much violence followed by a violent chill which increasing made me shake and shiver in my bed in spite of the quantity and thickness of the coverings under which I lay. This lasted a couple of hours or nearly so followed by a high fever which cast me into an abundant perspiration. During three months I was a prey to these deleterious effects of the fever and then little by little the daily attacks ceased and became farther apart until finally I was able to resume my occupations. This region is known as a centre of malaria and very few who make a prolonged stay there escape it.

In the winter I was charged with buying peltries from the Mississaguas, and business was increasing, we spent our evenings making invoices or entering the goods in the account books. as much for England, the United States as for Montreal. At the end of winter the inventory being finished M de St. George was able to state that he remained with a profit of nearly twenty thousand louis

The ordinary business with the inhabitants kept us standing from five o'clock in the morninging till ten and eleven at night. In

the spring M. St. George went to New York to make his purchases of goods for the summer. He was absent nearly two months."

He goes on to tell of M. St. George offering to give him charge of a store at Amherstburg. Of his stay there. Gives a description of the beautiful scenery of the fruit trees, etc. In 1808 his employer offered to set him up in business for himself. His business succeeded and in 1810 made 2000 louis and in 1811 went to Montreal with St. George to make purchases and visit his parents. Then follows an event which gives us an idea of the trouble between Britain, France, United States caused by what is known as the Embargo in which he was again able to help his employer and friend and again the story brings us to Niagara

"How happy I felt at the idea of seeing my father and mother again who thanks to the excellent account made to them by this good M. St. George, were waiting with open arms to receive me there. Great was the joy in the house to see me again. M. St. George came to rejoin me there and stayed with us some days. As I have mentioned above this gentleman was French by birth and consequently gaiety was his. So we had a joyful life in the best sense of the word during some days that he passed with us.

His business was very considerable. He had several stores in different places. Thus he had one at York kept by Mr. Baldwin and Jules Quesnel a second at Niagara under the direction of M. Despard a third at the head of Lake Ontario conducted by J. McKay. He now went to Montreal and found there a letter for him written by his clerk at Niagara. The same evening he returned to Boucherville but he was no longer the same man. Of an extreme pallor his ordinary gaiety had left him and contrary to his custom he maintained an icy silence. I saw quite well that he was suffering but did not dare to ask him what could be the cause of it. When we had retired to our respective rooms I took upon myself to ask him what bad news he had learned at Montreal to change him thus and make him so sad. He hesitated a moment and said to me. I know that I can trust you, I am a ruined man, look at this and read it but do not breathe a word of it to anyone. The letter which he gave me was from M, Despard and read as follows, "Sir—I inform you that your merchants of New York and Schenectady tell me that they have hastened to send you by way of Messrs Walton & Co. according to your orders, goods to the value of 58,000 piasters, which are actually in the Custom House at Lewiston on the American side without power to be brought over to the British territory on the other side of the river. The Americans display much zeal in the application of the law of the Embargo.

I passed the day in great uneasiness and took a resolution which honour it seemed to me dictated to me. I was resolved to use all possible efforts to retake the goods illegally confiscated and detained at Lewiston by the Americans. Having reached Kingston I went by water to Niagara, the trip was a rapid one and on arriving I hastened to the home of M. Despard who was very glad to see me again and to know whether M. St. George had received his letter. I replied in the affirmative adding that M. St. George believed himself ruined and that I had come back so quickly for the sole reason to help him to recover his goods, of which I had given him no hint having only said in pressing his hand that he would hear from me when I reached Niagara.

Despard gave me all the information necessary to form my plan of attack. He had been at Lewiston the same day that the goods had been taken from the boat and no doubt was expressed in his presence on the regularity of their proceeding. These goods had all been placed to his personal knowledge in a store house built on the shore at the edge of the water. The collector of customs was sleeping in the second story and generally left open a trap door which permitted communication with the interior above and below. An obstacle serious enough could quite frustrate my project ; this was the presence of two vessels moored to the wharf.

After having heard his story I said to him that there was a way of arranging with contraband here in the night and I went out better to think the thing out. I went walking on the shore for some hours so as to gather together my ideas and form my plan of action for I had decided to undertake a rational way of saving my protector's goods.

In walking along I perceived a man who had the appearance of a stranger, he was walking a few steps from me. For a moment I thought that this might be General Moreau one of Napoleon's old officers with whom I had got acquainted in a stage going from Fort Erie to Queenston. He had come to see the Falls of Niagara. I was looking at him for some moments persistently when perceiving this he came towards me and asked in Engl sh if I was a stranger. "No, replied I, I come from Lower Canada from Boucherville, "I am very well acquainted with a gentleman bearing that name attached as an ensign to the Royal Canadian Regiment." said he to me, "for myself I have had the honor to belong to that Corps, my name is Chinic and I am from Quebec." In my interview with him he asked me several questions, among others this one struck me. "Have you not some project in your head ? you appear to me quite absorbed." I could not avoid answering him in the affirmative. Then he eagerly

begged me to acquaint him with it promising on his honour to assist me in any way he could.

I told him then my bold design of crossing the next night to the American side and that he could accompany me if he would. "But what is the purpose of this night trip" said he to me. It was only then that I told him I was working as a friend of M de St. George to whom I was greatly indebted I wished to do him the eminent service of saving his goods and his honour at the same time. "Why he is one of my best friends", cried he, "he has rendered me several important services during several years and I will very heartily give my help." Without losing a moment, we set out for Despard's house where we finished concerting our plans. We decided to engage a number of sober and discreet Canadians with several boats in one of which we would place a ladder intended to help us in reaching the second story of the store-house, the dwelling of the Custom House Officer. We were to be furnished with whistles in case of alarm and arms to defend ourselves should we receive a check. The crossing should be made higher up than the village of Queenston placing beforehand on the other shore some of our men to form a guard

The next day those whom we had engaged came to us a few at a time as agreed so as not to cause alarm. We made them swear solemnly to keep the greatest secrecy and I treated them with my best. However I was not willing to allow them to go out for fear of betrayal. We would be about forty or nearly so. The oath that I had admistered to them had been on a spelling book which could not bind these men, legally speaking at least. Really I felt an inclination to laugh when I saw them very devoutly place their lips on these pretended gospels.

After having told them what was to be done I promised each of them ten piastres for the night. Forty piastres was the remuneration coming to one named Lambert for a large boat and twenty piastres for each additional boat.

At eight o'clock in the evening the expedition set out from Niagara for Fort George where the garrison was. The boats being all placed in the care of the sentinel he was not willing to permit us to use any of these boats which could not be used by the strict orders of the commandant after nine o'clock at night, seeing that they were on the watch for a rupture between the two countries, the embargo being already in force. The sergeant of the guard came to me and aasured me that it was impossible for him to allow me to take any, but that if I wished to see the commandant he would be pleased to take me to him at once. I willingly consented to this.

It was Colonel Proctor of the 41st Regiment, who at that moment was playing a game of cards with the ladies.

I asked permission from him to take only the boats the property of the inhabitants of the town. He begged me to tell him what I wished to do. I told him quite frankly that I had need to go to bring back from the other side of the river the goods belonging to Quetton St. George of York, which the American Authorities had seized without any right teason. On receiving this reply he ordered the sergeant to allow me to take them and dismissed me wishing me complete success. The men started to take them and wrapped rags around the oars so as to decrease as much as possible the noise that they would make in the water

Despard Chinic and I in order to encourage and stimulate them in the accomplishment of the serious task before them gave our men to each a half glass of rum.

As there was a blockhouse at the bottom of the bank where we were on the edge of the river, I asked the sentinel if he was willing to rent me a long ladder of which we had need. He doubting nothing agreed without hesitation to this demand.

At eleven o'clock at night all being ready in complete darkness, we were all well armed for it would amount to nothing less than hanging in a few days if we should be discovered and arrested.

It was a quarter past twelve when we landed and started for the store house in question after having arranged every thing so as not to be exposed to a surprise. Arrived near this building the ladder with which we had provided ourselves was placed at the edge of the opening of the second story. I wished to go up first, followed by Despard and Chinic. Be sure of it my good readers I would not have given two sous for my life at that moment, for in presenting myself at the opening, I was quite exposed to be shot in the head by the Custom House Officer if never the less he was waiting for this night visit. Happily he was sleeping quite soundly. Without any noise we advanced towards his bed pistol in hand and ready to use it if needed. The lantern was half open to allow him to see that we were armed. On opening his eyes he realized his terrible situation and sitting up he implored us not to kill him and that he was ready to deliver up to us the goods of the Englishman, without hesitation which we summarily required.

Immediately I placed the gag in his mouth with which I had furnished myself so that he could not cry out. After having securely bound his hands we lett him under the care of one of the men and we went down to the lower story of the building where we found the goods for which we were searching.

At the understood signal (agreed upon) one of the boats came without noise to the wharf. The goods of M. St. George were placed there as many as it could contain and others followed until there was nothing more in the building. Returning to Queenston all these goods were placed in a building which was protected by a blockhouse in which there were a score of soldiers.

The men returned to Niagara, but not without some fear, for the river is in some places rather narrow. The same day the American government sent out a proclamation offering a reward of a thousand dollars to him who would bring dead or alive any of those whohad taken part in this criminal expedition,but this offer remained a dead letter. After paying the men and thanking them, I went to York to announce the good news to M de St. George, who had returned home I met him by chance with an officer near Fort Rouellard (Rouille). On meeting me he turned pale as death. "What! is it you, but whence do you come," cried he. "Do not be at all uneasy" said I to him, "all your goods detained by the Americans are saved and under English protection." The pleasure of this good man need not be doubted,"Sir this is Governor Gore,"I eagerly saluted him with all the deference possible. Learning that I was somewhat uneasy and afraid of what might result he reassured me and made me understand that the government would not give me up to the Americans even though I should be recognized as one of the promoters of this hazardous expedition on the neighboring territory for it was an affair of contraband nothing more. All the same the following year war being declared it gave to M. St. George a fortune of a hundred thousand louis. This was the greatest feat of my life discharging towards my protector a real debt of gratitude which I owed him, I would not like to repeat it too often.

THE WAR OF 1812.

De Boucherville describes vividly the affair at Brownston, the taking of Detroit, the defeat of Barclay. the battle of Moravian Town, Death of Tecumseh, the retreat of Proctor. I quote a passage in which a name familiar to Niagara people is mentioned from only such parts of this long narrative as are connected with our neighborhood have I translated, although the whole is interesting, especially as told by other eyes than of our neighborhood.

"I must explain that before the battle there had set out several wives of officers from the place where we were camped for the Moravian Village and there took a large birch bark canoe to take them to Oxford. The battle lost we set out to the same place. Without losing time we set out in our canoe, that of the ladies pre-

ceded us by about an hour. The day was dark and disagreeable. The wind blew violently accompanied by a very cold rain. The river LaTranche or Thames which we were ascending is very narrow and the bottom all bristling with trunks of trees which make navigation very dangerous for a birch bark canoe. I tried to learn the names of the ladies but nobody knew them. All that I could learn was that they were the wives of officers who were prisoners and that from Oxford they were going to Toronto by wagons. Gradually we were approaching their canoe, when about a gunshot off, pierceing cries came to our ears, the canoe nearly torn open by the trunk of a tree commenced to leak, all were faced by almost inevitable death. The miserable cowards who were rowing instead of doing everything possible to assist these poor ladies on the point of drowning, hastened toward the shore which they gained in a short time. We were boiling with rage and our indignation was at its height. Making superhuman efforts so to say we gained in the twinkling of an eye the scene of the disaster. Never could I forget the supplications of one of these unfortunates who ceased not asking us to save her young child which she held in her arms. This is what I did, and the mother also on reaching them and placed them in our canoe. M. Voyer also lifted out another who was also placed beside her companion. There still remained one more to be saved, but we were over loaded and in peril of sinking at the slightest movement on our part. What could we do? This lady was gifted with singular ceurage and this was what saved her, she clung to the canoe which was soon towed by us to the land. The gratitude which these unfortunate ladies expressed may be understood, it is needless to mention it. However, none of their goods were lost, for the canoe did not sink although it was full of water, the men mended the boat and were soon ready. The ladies although saved from ship wreck would not escape the danger from illness from their damp clothes, but the men would not allow them to stop to dry them, but ordered them into the canoe without delay.

At ten at night we thought it prudent to camp for the night. We decided not to light a fire for fear of attracting attention. The most profound silence reigned everywhere, but we soon heard the sound of hatchets cutting wood and found the men sitting round a fire, but the ladies at a distance with their clothes still damp, the little child on its mother's knees all weeping bitterly. The mother was not more than 19 years of age, the others a little older. We made a fire for them returned to our camp, took them a little port

wine, sugar, tea, bread, etc., boiled water made them tea and they welcomed us as their saviours and we took farewell of them. The next day when we reached Oxford, we found that the ladies were in one of the houses, having preceded us about an hour.

When near the Grand River we knew that we were out of reach of the enemy. When we arrived a man clad in blue with scarlet collar mounted on a tall horse appeared. At first he seemed to us to be an American dragoon, but having addressed me in English to ask if I had any knowledge of the defeat of the 41st regiment, I saw that he was not one. He then asked anxiously if we had any knowledge of ladies attached to General Proctor's army. "Yes," said I. "Major Muir's wife is on the way with her children in a wagon and perhaps arrived at Oxford yesterday with several other ladies in a canoe." I related to him the accident which had happened at which he seemed very much agitated. "Was there among them a very young woman with an infant?" he asked eagerly "Those are precisely those whom I saved" I replied. "My God," cried he. "that is my daughter and her child." He shed tears and added that he was going to their assistance. "Gentlemen," he said, "give me your names that I may always remember you." When I told him my name he said, "What! are you the son of the Hon. Amable de Boucherville? For me I am William Claus. the superintendent of the Indians in this part of Upper Canada. Go if you please, lodge at my house and tell Mrs. Claus who you are and you will be made welcome. She is the daughter of Capt. Hale of the 41st Regiment. Never, never can I forget you." He set off then galloping in the direction of Oxford.

As Mrs Muir, the wife of the Major, had set out in a wagon before us with all her family, we had the pleasure of finding her in York. I must say, in passing, that it is extremely rare to meet women as brave as courageous as she. Without hesitating she took a carriage alone without a driver with her young children, travelled a distance of a dozen or fifteen leagues in which there were no dwellings, but where were ravines difficult to pass through, hills to ascend, in war time when Indians frequented the woods to scalp those whom they met. I can not speak too highly of the courage of this extraordinary woman.

"During my stay here I went to see Mrs. Claus to whom I told the incident of the Thames river and the interview I had had with her husband Colonel Claus. She overwhelmed me with thanks and begged me to bring my two companions who received a gracious welcome and begged us to stay at her home till the arrival of her husband, but this we were unable to do."

In 1815 he describes his return to York having visited his home.

"In passing Niagara I halted to see the ruins caused by the war from Fort George to Fort Erie. The spectacle was sad. The eye fell on nothing but burned homes, devastated fields, demolished fortifications, forest burned and blackened. There could be nothing more painful to see. In passing Queenston I went to the spot where our brave General Brock fell with his not less brave Aid de Camp McDonnell. It was in the corner of a garden of a man named Secord, at the foot of the hill. At Fort Erie I went to examine the old English Fort where the preceeding year had perished a great number of our soldiers of the 8th Regiment and of Watteville by a disastrous explosion. All these brave men had been buried in the neighborhood and I paid a pious visit to their tombs.

Since the reference to Col. Wm. Claus was found in the Boucherville diary, a pathetic letter has been found in Col. Cruikshank's Documentary. History. Vol. VIII, to the death of his son, wounded in the battle of Chrysler's Farm.

Col. Wm. Claus to Lt. Wm. Claus, jr.

York, U. C., 11th May, 1814

My Dear William,

After a lapse of upwards of two years we have had the happiness to learn of you in a letter from the governor, to Mr Cameron of this place. He mentions having heard of you being in London, and from that gone to Holland, and being well all of which affords us as much happiness as our present situation allows for from our recent losses in the death of two of our dear children, happiness cannot be our lot. Long since I wrote to you of the death of my beloved Baby Anna Bella and in December of the death of your brother Daniel About the 12th of December we understood that he was still living and your mother, myself and Julia left this immediately for the place where he lay wounded (Crysler's) about 300 miles below this, but it was the will of Providence that we should not see him alive. He died on the 10th December after suffering amputation twice. When here in the summer he was so ill that his life was despaired of but as soon as he recovered a little he would join the regiment which was ordered to Kingston from the lines near Niagara. He was so ill that Col. Plenderleath ordered him into his own quarters to be under cover, but the next day he went to the field with his regiment having the command of Captain Nairne's company

who was ill and at the moment the charge was made he received a grape shot in the ankle and lay in the field till the action was over, as it was fought in ploughed fields you may judge what a wretched situation he must have been in it having rained several days before. At night his poor little limb was taken off below the knee and my letters spoke of his doing well which prevented my going down with your mother. Had he had her tender care he might have been saved. I have been told that care was not taken of him and had it not been for his faithful servant he would have wanted for many things; he was put into a small room with nine men of the 89th who were wounded. We had had heard flattering accounts, but after we had left Kingston we heard of his melancholy fate, we continued our journey and had him taken up and every respect paid to so dear and dutiful a son, had him laid out and recommitted to his grave in a double coffin, as it is my intention to remove his remains to Niagara when time will allow.

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17. Ten Years of the Colony of Niagara.
18. Early History of St. Mark's, Robert Gourlay, etc.
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